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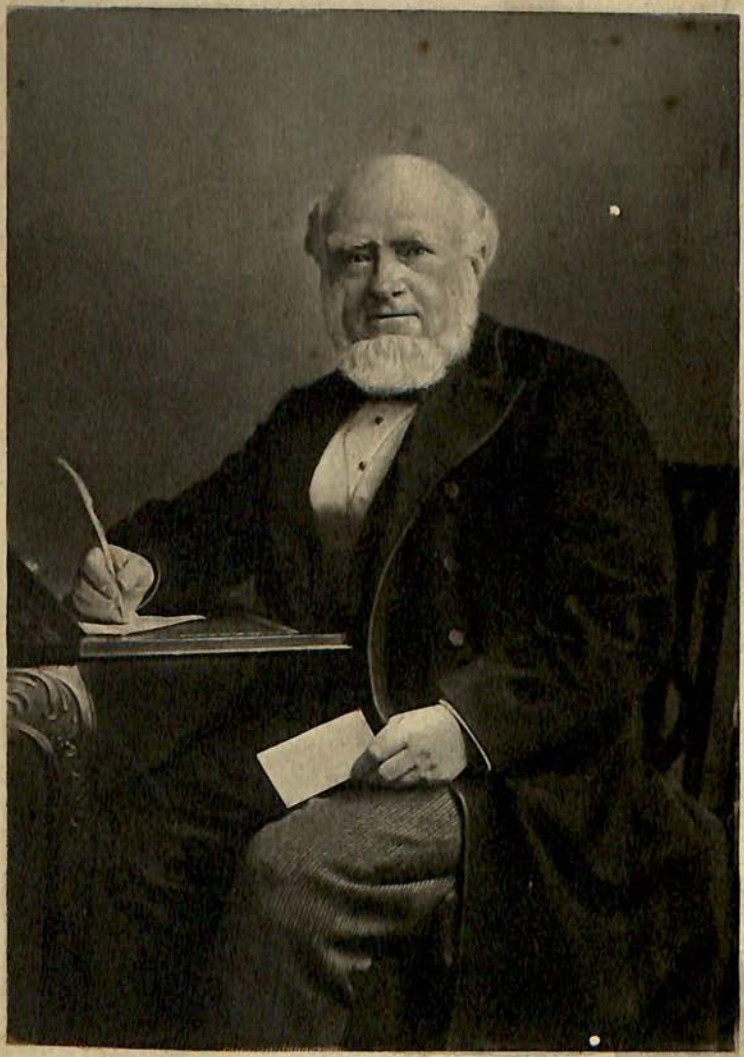
HENRY RICHARD, M.P.



Yours very truly
Henry Richard

From a photograph by Messrs Elliott & Fry.

HENRY RICHARD, M.P.

A Biography.

23869
ac

BY

CHARLES S. MIALL.

Modest, yet firm as Nature's self; unblamed
Save by the men his nobler temper shamed;
Never seduced, through show of present good,
By other than unsetting lights to steer.—J. RUSSELL LOWELL.

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PREFACE.

THE following biography has been undertaken at the request of Mrs. Richard, who has kindly placed at the disposal of the author, all the letters, manuscripts, and other papers in her possession likely to assist him in the congenial task. For many reasons he regards it as a great honour to have been invited to furnish a record of the life-work of one, whose friendship it has been his privilege to enjoy almost ever since his entrance into public life, and whose sterling qualities of heart and mind have ever inspired affection and reverence. The preparation of the Memoir has been a labour of love. For many months it has absorbed such leisure as could be secured in the intervals of regular occupation. In sending it forth, the writer feels the extreme difficulty of doing adequate justice to a Christian philanthropist, whose qualities and career were unique. It is well known that Mr. Richard, beginning life as a humble Nonconformist minister, gradually rose, by inherent ability and force of character, to become the Apostle of Peace, the accepted spokesman and leader of his Welsh fellow-countrymen, and the recognised representative of

English Nonconformists in Parliament. The value, extent, and results of his services in these several capacities are not so well known, but will be more fully recognised by the readers of these pages. It will further be seen that what Mr. Richard was at the outset, he remained to the close of his beautiful and laborious life—a man of simple and unobtrusive piety, of exceptional sweetness of disposition, while, at the same time, inflexible in his adherence to the principles he espoused, with an ideal sense of duty which nothing could obscure, and an unaffected disinterestedness that inspired universal respect and reverence.

This biography will also, it is hoped, help to remove some misconceptions relative to Mr. Richard's public life. In some quarters he is most erroneously thought to have been an impracticable man. Yet although he held fast to the cardinal principle of the Peace Society, he never allowed it to be an obstacle to hearty co-operation with all who desired to promote the ultimate object. This spirit was specially manifest in connection with the remarkable series of Peace Congresses which, nearly forty years ago, commanded European attention, and are described at some length in this Memoir. The same reasonable spirit was shown in connection with the various phases of the Education question. Though often stigmatised as a fanatic, he was ever ready, without compromising his principles, to accept

what was practicable. Nothing is more noteworthy in his public career than the gradual development, in political and ecclesiastical affairs, of that practical wisdom which ripened into the truest statesmanship.

The materials made use of in this biography have been drawn from various sources, some of them from the *Herald of Peace* and various newspapers and pamphlets, the primary object being to illustrate as accurately as possible, the character, idiosyncracies, and services of Mr. Richard, and by avoiding needless editorial disquisitions, to give the book as much as possible an autobiographical complexion. Of his career as a pastor, which closed as far back as 1850, the details are necessarily scanty. His private life was retiring and uneventful. Happily he left behind him a number of diaries and notes, which have been of great value. For the most part they refer to his frequent continental journeys on behalf of peace and arbitration, and abound in graphic descriptions of the statesmen and other celebrities in the chief European cities with whom he came in contact, which show much shrewdness of observation. These are freely quoted. Having been for many years the coadjutor of Mr. Cobden in the Peace movement, Mr. Richard was able to take copious notes of sundry conversations with the eminent free-trade leader —who was the prince of political talkers—on a variety of subjects, which will be found to be an attractive

feature of the book. Mr. Richard's platform and Parliamentary speeches were multitudinous, and an essential element in relation to his public life. Those only have been selected for quotation or reference which reflect his views on the questions that profoundly interested him, and exhibit his high qualities as a speaker. It will be observed also that, when necessary, the drift of contemporary public events is succinctly explained in order to furnish those connecting links, the need of which the readers of biography must often feel, and that explanatory notes are freely given. Mr. Richard's correspondence was large and varied. Some of the letters which have been placed in the hands of his widow have been utilised in these pages, others are forestalled by his own memoranda, and not a few of subordinate interest have been laid aside, owing to the exigencies of space.

Having regard to the multitude of Mr. Richard's friends and adherents, it has been thought better that the most salient features of his life and work should be compressed into a modest and compact book, rather than that the story should be expanded into a bulky and costly volume, as might easily have been done. Great condensation has, therefore, been necessary, and some things of minor importance are consequently omitted. On the other hand, not a few events are described which were probably unknown to his most intimate

friends, and many more of his admirers will marvel at the wide range of subjects in which he was actively interested.

To the bereaved lady who mourns the loss of a beloved husband, the biographer is under great obligation, not only for the papers she has entrusted to him, but for the trouble taken in supplying personal details which throw much light on the inner life of Mr. Richard. He is also indebted to Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Dale, Dr. Allon, Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P., the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. Eastty, Mr. Catford, of the Peace Society, Mr. W. Tallack, Miss Cobden — who has supplied a batch of letters written to her honoured father—and to various other friends, for valuable help. To many others who could, and no doubt would, have gladly given assistance, he regrets that from various causes he was unable to apply.

Although in the preparation of this volume the author is conscious how imperfectly he has succeeded in pourtraying a life of rare beauty and self-consecration, he sincerely trusts that it may be the means of deepening the attachment of his readers to those elevated Christian principles which shone so conspicuously throughout the lengthened public career of Henry Richard.

9, Cathcart Hill, Junction Road, N.

September, 1889.

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HENRY RICHARD, M.P.

CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY LIFE AND SETTLEMENT AS A MINISTER.

HENRY RICHARD, of whose life, character, and public services an account is here to be given, was born on the 3rd of April, 1812, at Tregaron, a small town in Cardiganshire, one of the most purely Welsh parts of the Principality. His father was the Rev. Ebenezer Richard, an eminent minister of the Calvinistic Methodists. This body had its origin in the great religious revival in Wales that marked the first half of the last century. It maintained itself within the pale of the Established Church, against much opposition, for seventy-six years in the form of a Society; but in the year 1811 it organised itself independently, and is now the foremost Church in Wales. Mr. Richard, in later years, felt a legitimate pride in the fact that "he had come of a good stock—of the stock of men who had served Wales in days gone by." His grandfather was a useful and acceptable preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists at a time when Howell, Harries, and Thomas Charles were in the meridian of their pulpit reputation. His uncle, also, Thomas

Richard of Fishguard, was a minister of the same Connexion, having filled the highest offices in that Church, and worn out a strong constitution by incessant labours in its service. In those days, when official and professional status was monopolised either by Englishmen, or the few Welshmen who had attached themselves to the governing classes, the ministers of the Voluntary Churches were looked up to by the people, whose language they spoke, and with whose life they were in sympathy, as their natural leaders; while, on the other hand, their ranks were open to the most promising youth of their flocks. Of the general conditions under which the ministry of men like Ebenezer Richard was exercised, his son in after-life gave the following vivid description:—

I think I cannot be mistaken in saying that the great Welsh preachers whom I was constantly hearing in my boyhood—and the race is by no means extinct yet—were unrivalled masters of sacred eloquence. I have listened to most of the popular preachers that have adorned the English and Scotch pulpits within the last thirty years, and, while cordially acknowledging the eminent merits of some of them, I must still say that none of them have appeared to me even to approach the men I refer to, in their power to move and thrill and subdue a mixed popular audience. They had in an eminent degree that first requisite of all great oratorical success, especially in the pulpit—intense earnestness. Their life was so laborious, self-denying, and devoted, that not a moment's doubt could rest on the minds of their hearers of the lofty impulse by which they were moved, and the perfect simplicity of purpose with which they were seeking, not theirs, but them. But they had, moreover, rare natural advantages for their office. Many of them were men of stately and commanding personal presence, and were endowed with voices of great compass and melody, which by constant use they had learnt so to rule as to express, with the nicest modulation, all the varying

moods of an orator's mind. No greater mistake could be committed than to imagine that their preaching consisted of mere loud and incoherent rant, such as is sometimes associated with the idea of Methodist preaching in England. Their sermons were carefully prepared, and often, by frequent repetition, elaborated to a high degree of oratorical perfection, while in their mode of delivery they were distinguished by nothing so much as their absolute self-possession, the mastery they retained over themselves in the very torrent, tempest, and (as I may say) whirlwind of their passion. It is true that they claimed and exercised unbounded liberty in their methods of exhibiting the truth they believed. They were not restrained by that mortal fear of transgressing "the decencies" which fetters an English preacher, and renders it all but impossible for him to be oratorically effective. They abandoned themselves freely to the swaying impulses of their own inspiration. They used without hesitation or stint all forms of speech that were at their command—trope, metaphor, allegory, graphic pictorial description, bold prosopopœia, solemn invocation, impassioned appeal, dramatic dialogue and action. They did this, not of set purpose, for they might not even know the names that rhetoricians had given to those figures of speech, but because—following the dictates of their own natural genius for oratory—such were the means that seemed best adapted to produce the impression they desired.

The outward accessories, also, which often surrounded them, no doubt contributed largely to the effect of their eloquence. First from necessity, and afterwards from habit, religious meetings were and are in Wales frequently held in the open air. On such occasions the whole population of a district for many miles round, suspending all business and labour, will flock together bodily. I have a vivid remembrance of many of these remarkable gatherings. Sometimes the platform was pitched not far from the sea-shore, the softened murmur of the ocean mingling with, as if it bore burden to, the sound of sacred song that from the assembled multitude

> "Rose like a stream of rich-distilled perfume
> And stole upon the air."

Sometimes it was in an open glade, amid rich woodland scenery, a spot being usually chosen where the greensward sloped up gradually

from the stage on which the ministers stood, forming a sort of ascending natural gallery; and as the surrounding trees, gently swayed by the wind, bent and rustled, it might almost seem, amid the solemn associations of the scene, to the excited feelings of the people,

"As if the forest leaves were stirred with prayer."

A preacher of known eloquence standing up on those occasions, when "all impulses of soul and sense" combined to render every heart accessible to impression, found his work already half-done to his hands. He saw a dense mass of human beings in serried array before him, each upturned countenance flushed with that eager and friendly expectation so favourable to a speaker. As he proceeded with his discourse a deep hum of approval—probably inherited from Puritanic times—indicated to him the quick appreciation of his hearers for any skill in argument or felicity of illustration which he might display.

But when the preacher became more animated, his delivery would often pass into a kind of wild recitative, which had an inexpressible charm to the ear, while at the same time it was so free and elastic as to adapt its musical undulations to all forms of solemn warning, awful denunciation, or pathetic appeal, which an impassioned oratory requires. As the excitement gathered and grew the effect was indescribable. Wave after wave of emotion would pass over and thrill through the vast congregation, until it was seen to move and sway to and fro, "as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind." Of the thousands of eyes riveted upon him, the preacher would now see many swimming in tears, while loud sobs and passionate responses from hundreds of voices echoed back his appeals. This again would react upon himself, rousing him to yet greater fervour of eloquence—for, as it has been well remarked, "the man accustomed to these expressions, and habitually looking for them among the 'outward and visible signs' of the effect of his preaching, and who could not preach under their influence with incalculably augmented power, must have been utterly destitute of the oratorical temperament, and never could have been intended by Nature to sway a promiscuous assembly." It was such preaching as this that roused Wales from its spiritual torpor, and was partly the cause and partly the effect of those remarkable periodical visitations known as religious revivals, a species of phenomena which it is much more easy to

sneer at than to explain or wisely appreciate. With some serious drawbacks, no one acquainted with the inner life of the country can doubt that they have been of incalculable value to Wales.*

Ebenezer Richard was pre-eminent among the Welsh ministers of the day for his rare combination of gifts and qualities. "He was," says Dr. Rees, "most amiable, yet resolute; ardently pious, without the least tincture of sanctimoniousness; always affecting as a preacher, and at times overpowering; remarkably skilful and prudent as chief manager of the affairs of the Connexion, and incessantly diligent in the performance of his various duties." His ministerial labours were unceasing. During the last twenty-two years of his life he preached more than seven thousand sermons, and travelled some sixty thousand miles. His great influence throughout the Principality was attested by the persistent attempts to induce him to accept Episcopal ordination. This temptation to enter upon a sphere which would insure social distinction and comparative ease was very great. But Mr. Ebenezer Richard preferred adherence to his Nonconformist principles, and to dwell among his own people. His work was not limited to the pulpit. He was the principal instrument in establishing Sunday schools in South Wales, and in this respect his countrymen reaped the abundant fruits of his labours. In the discharge of his arduous duties as Secretary of the Southern Association of Calvinistic Methodists, which he undertook by the advice of Mr. Charles, of Bala, he showed consummate skill, and

* "Letters and Essays on Wales" (Clarke & Co.).

retained that responsible position till the day of his death, which took place in March, 1837, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was probably accelerated by his incessant labours.

It is always interesting to trace the gradual development of men who have risen from humble life to eminence, and especially the influences which have moulded their early character. The home and religious associations of Mr. Ebenezer Richard were well adapted to make an abiding impression on a susceptible nature. His son was, as we have already seen, brought into close personal intercourse with many of the fervent preachers whose characteristics he has so picturesquely described. He was present at many of the great religious assemblies in which his father took so conspicuous a part, and always retained a vivid recollection of the hallowed "scenes and memories" of his boyhood. When he had settled in London, he was never more at home in society than when he could with Welsh enthusiasm indulge in these reminiscences. These cherished impressions were deepened by the influence of a saintly mother, whose social position before marriage was superior to that of her husband, and who had received an unusually good education. During the frequent absences of Mr. Richard on his preaching tours, she was a true pastor's wife to his flock; indefatigable in the sympathy she showed to the poor and suffering in Tregaron, as well as in her visits to members of the congregation. Her ministrations were redolent of dignity and kindness, and were too prompt to need

invitation. In every sick-room of the little town, and at every death-bed, she was found speaking words of consolation. Mrs. Richard was of so calm and cheerful a disposition that her presence was like a ray of sunshine. Her heart was in the work, and all who were in trouble, rich or poor, carried their burdens to her, knowing that she would make them her own. Being a wise as well as tender-hearted woman, her advice was much sought after, and all disagreements between members of the Church were settled by the minister's wife. Her word was law. On one occasion she reluctantly, at her husband's repeated requests, interposed between two notoriously bad-tempered women, and made peace between them. A mutual friend, unable to account for the change, asked for an explanation. "Oh," said one of them, "don't you know that the Justice of the Peace has been here?"—meaning Mrs. Richard. When, subsequently, "an old lady of seventy-four," she lived with her daughter, Mrs. Evans, at Aberayron, after Mr. Richard's death, her services as peacemaker and arbitrator were frequently in request. Such were the wholesome home influences under which the family of Mr. Ebenezer Richard was trained.*

* It may be well to state here that in 1809 the Rev. Ebenezer Richard married Mary, the daughter of Mr. W. Williams, of Tregaron, and lived in that town to the end of his days. Here were born, besides the subject of this memoir, Edward Richard, the elder son, who afterwards became a surgeon in London, and died in 1866; and two daughters, Mary (Mrs. Morris), who died in 1882, and Hannah (Mrs. Evans), who died in 1884. Thus Henry became the surviving member of the family. But there are several nephews and nieces living, including Maggie Evans, who lived with Mr. Richard's family after his marriage, and became his adopted daughter.

From a still extant journal of Henry Richard's father—the writing of diaries seems to have been a happy family tendency—we gather a few particulars as to the early life of his favourite child. When only three years of age he fell over the river-bank into a pool, and was providentially rescued from a watery grave by a woman passing by, who carried him home "nearly lifeless, and cold as a corpse." Seven years later, when out with his father on Association business in Pembrokeshire, his little pony was startled and ran away, the young rider being thrown off with his foot fast in the stirrup, and dragged through the stones and mud. The affrighted father could only look helplessly on; but while lifting his heart to Heaven, the stirrup broke, and his son was disentangled without any permanent injury. In 1826 Henry, having then entered on his fifteenth year—he had previously received a substantial education at Llangeitho Grammar School—was apprenticed to Mr. Lewis, a draper at Carmarthen, for which £45 was paid as premium—a large sum, indeed, for a minister of scanty means. When the term of three years had expired, Henry Richard returned home, and his father recorded his thankfulness that his beloved son had "been able to spend his time with credit to himself, acceptability to his employer, and satisfaction to his parents." During that period the young man was admitted to full communion with Water Street Methodist Church, the officers of which had received highly satisfactory testimony as to his exemplary life.

Henry Richard was now approaching his eighteenth birthday, and his feelings became increasingly engrossed with the desire to dedicate his life to the Christian ministry. It is not the custom amongst Nonconformists for parents to anticipate wishes of this character which their children may be led to form, or to "bring up" young people to the Christian ministry apart from the spontaneous disclosure of a desire for that sacred calling, but rather to regard the development of inclinations in that direction with mingled hope and anxiety. Young Richard broached the subject to his father in a letter sent from Aberystwith, and dated April 14th, 1830. Writing out of the fulness of his heart, and with characteristic affection and humility, he describes, as though it were a grievous fault, his aversion to, and unfitness for, secular life, his earnest desire, from childhood upwards, to become a minister, and the distraction of feeling he had endured. By checking it he fears lest he should disregard a call from the Lord; while, on the other hand, he feels the great responsibility of the ministerial life, and has sought Divine direction. In conclusion he says:—"I would consider it too bold and presuming to intrude myself into the sacred office without previous preparation—thorough educational knowledge. It now remains with you, my dear father, to decide. I shall abide by your directions, well aware that you alone, by knowledge and affection, are best qualified to dictate to me on this important question. Your word shall be my law."

The response, deliberately made, was sympathetic

and affectionate. Indeed, Henry Richard's parents were not surprised to hear of their son's aspirations, which had filled them with deep gladness. In a kind, wise, and earnest letter, his father promised that he would take every necessary step in the matter without delay or unseemly haste, and exhorts his son to lay the subject "conscientiously and constantly before God in prayer." The next meeting of the Calvinistic Methodists at Tregaron was informed of Henry's intention, and it was announced that, by way of preparation, he intended going to Highbury (Congregational) College, London, as there was no such seminary in Wales belonging to the Methodists. The following extract from Mr. Ebenezer Richard's diary, written in 1830, tells of his son's departure from home:—

Henry has left for London, having had fine weather and a prosperous journey. He arrived there on the evening of August 21st; his brother Edward met him and accompanied him to his lodging in Jewin Street Crescent, having gone up with the intention of entering one of the seminaries of learning among the Dissenters. He had no testimonials of any value, none to patronise nor to befriend him; he had two letters—one from our friend, Dr. Davis, of Charlotte Street, Bristol; one to Dr. Henderson, and another to Mr. Morrison, of Brompton. The Rev. Mr. Elias gave him his signature to a kind of testimonial. Thus our dear boy was compelled to go, by the ardour of his mind, as Abraham of old, not knowing whither he went. He was admitted as a probationer to Highbury College on the 6th September, and there he is now a resident, preparing for the sacred work of the Gospel ministry. May the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob bless him!

While at college, Mr. Richard dutifully kept up a frequent correspondence with his parents, who carefully

preserved his letters. In one of them he speaks of the intense pleasure of calling to remembrance his "home of affection and gladness—the home of his youth." He writes to his parents jointly in a spirit of mingled reverence and affection not very common, probably, in these latter days. What his father and mother were has already been indicated. It would seem that, Mr. Ebenezer Richard's stipend being small, they lived in straitened circumstances, and that the father undertook frequent journeys on foot, his son complaining bitterly in one letter that the indefatigable preacher was not provided by the Connexion with the means of locomotion. Henry, therefore, got little pecuniary help from the home at Tregaron, and had to practise a rigid economy. In this correspondence there is here and there reference to matters which may be of present interest. In one letter he speaks of Mr. [Henry] Rogers, the first editor of the *Patriot*, "a new organ of the London Independents," having succeeded Dr. Burder on his retirement from the chair of Logic and Mental Philosophy at Highbury College. There are also references to Mr. Joshua Wilson, who is said to have exercised supreme power in the settlement of the students. On several other occasions he alludes in very affectionate terms to his elder brother, at that time successfully going through examinations for the medical profession. Once he mentions having preached "at a place called Finchley, about five miles from London," as though it were almost inaccessible; and he has an allusion (1832) to the Rev. Thomas Binney, already a bright star in the

Congregational firmament. Referring to a parcel of books sent to his father, he says:—"There is one valuable pamphlet by *Fiat Justitia* (Mr. Binney) which is written with great ability, and has created a considerable sensation. Last Sunday week I heard him deliver an excellent sermon at Maze Pond Chapel to medical students. It was a very superior discourse, and the place was quite full. It was accurately reported in the *Pulpit* of yesterday." While at College, Mr. Richard appears to have been a particularly acceptable supply at Esher Street Chapel, Kennington, and at Ware in Hertfordshire. For some time he seems to have been in lodgings near the former place of worship, which had a remarkable history. At Ware he was, by a curious coincidence, invited to supply the pulpit afterwards filled by Mr. Edward Miall, who, ten years later, formed with him an intimate friendship which was only sundered by death. Although Mr. Richard seemed to be highly acceptable at Ware, he did not in the end settle there. In one letter he laments with comical earnestness his want of facility in familiar conversations as likely to interfere with his success. Elsewhere he describes the ordeal of addressing a young ladies' school —probably as a Bible-class. "I never," he says with *naïveté*, "felt more awkward, as there were several quite grown-up, and there was I not knowing which way to look. However, I put on a very grave, ministerial look, and, I believe, got on tolerably. But I felt very foolish before I began, and couldn't help smiling before them." Ere long the young minister of twenty-two got cured of

his bashfulness, though he ever retained "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit."

In the spring of 1835 Henry Richard had to remain at home in Tregaron for several months, on account of ill-health—probably arising from over-study—and in the autumn his father and younger sister paid a visit of six weeks to London, putting up at the residence of the elder brother, then a surgeon, in Chiswell Street. Mr. Ebenezer Richard, in his diary, under date November 11, 1835, thus refers to the settlement of his son:—

> This was one of the most solemn, weighty, and momentous days of our lives, being called upon to attend at the ordination of our dearly-beloved Henry at Marlborough Chapel, in the Old Kent Road, after an unanimous invitation to settle there. The ministers engaged on that occasion were the Rev. John Burnet, Dr. Henderson, Mr. Binney, and others. It was a season not to be forgotten, especially by his father, mother, and brother, who had the privilege of attending—but infinitely more so by our dear Henry himself.

No fewer than forty ministers were present on this occasion, and the services were described as "truly delightful and solemn;" Mr. Binney's sermon, from the words "Encourage him," being calculated to make a deep and indelible impression on the heart. Again, in a letter written on December 11, 1835, his father says:—

> Last Sunday was our dear Henry's first Communion since his ordination. His mother, brother, and I went to his chapel to be present on this solemn occasion. But what will be your astonishment when you learn that your old friend, Ebenezer Richard of Tregaron, stood up to preach a sermon in English to a very important congregation in the metropolis! After the sermon, we had

the great happiness of sitting at the Lord's table while our beloved Henry officiated. It was almost more than our feelings could bear; in truth, it was to us like a little heaven upon earth.

Not long after his return home, the writer of the foregoing letter became increasingly incapacitated for active work by constitutional lethargy, which, as already said, brought his distinguished career to an end in March, 1837.

Among the senior fellow-students of the young Welshman at Highbury College were Professor Godwin, who has recently been called to his rest, and the now venerable Dr. Stoughton, who bears as lightly as may be the weight of fourscore years and four, and who, at Mrs. Richard's request, has been kind enough to supply the following interesting reminiscences of their college life:—

The earliest recollections I have of my friend, Henry Richard, go back to about the year 1830, when he entered Highbury College. He and David Thomas, who was such a distinguished minister in the City of Bristol for a long period, were admitted to the institution at the same time. If I rightly remember, they had not previously known each other; but, as brother Welshmen of the Nonconformist order then devoting themselves to the preaching of the Gospel, there arose at once a mutual sympathy, and they soon recognised in one another elements of character and coincidences of taste and habit which speedily drew them within bonds of the closest friendship. Both were men of superior ability, diligently devoted to study, and earnest in their devotion to the sacred employment which they had chosen for the business of their after-life. They were full of promise, as well as hope, and their fellow-students regarded them as fitted to make a decided mark upon the Church and the world, wherever their sphere of service might be fixed by Divine Providence. David Thomas was much taller than Henry Richard, and as they walked in

the college grounds, and entered the public room for prayers, we used to designate them as David and Jonathan. No doubt they considerably influenced each other in many ways, nor was the influence temporary, though each had an individual independence of mind and purpose, which in after-days guided them through paths of usefulness, obviously distinct, but perfectly harmonious. They were intimate with each other till death removed David Thomas to the higher life of heaven. They were always united in my thoughts; and my conviction of the potency of early friendships long continued is so deep that I cannot forbear bringing these two worthies together, and emphasising the effect of Mr. Thomas' intimacy on his fellow-student, the subject of this memoir.

As I was his senior, and we were therefore in different classes, and for some time resided in opposite sides of the college building, we were not brought into close daily contact, and I had no means of watching his progress in collegiate studies. But, from his academical reputation, I should judge that his progress in class was high and honourable. Once we were brought into an amusing relation to each other. The students formed themselves into a debating club, and our gatherings were ambitiously entitled Meetings of the Senate, where subjects were vigorously discussed; the debate commenced with a speech from the "orator," as he was called, followed by another from the "respondent." The threadbare question, "Who was the greatest man, Oliver Cromwell or Napoleon Bonaparte?" was, at the time referred to, appointed for discussion, when my friend took the side of the latter, and I advocated the cause of the former. I have no distinct recollection of what either of us said, and the memory of the incident almost faded from my mind; but my kind intellectual combatant, in later days, often took occasion to revive the picture of this passage of arms. He would humorously refer to his own change of position in reference to the subject of debate, and repudiate his advocacy of the French Emperor's merits; whilst he recognised my fidelity to the hero of my youth, the Lord Protector of England, though I have never been blind to the defects as well as the merits of that extraordinary man. At a public meeting, held in connection with my retirement from the Kensington pastorate, Mr. Richard made a charmingly clever speech, in which he turned the anecdote to account in a way which indicated his own ability as a

public speaker, whilst he beautifully expressed his regard for an old college friend.

I have most agreeable reminiscences of our intercourse on two particular occasions—one when I was ordained at Windsor, and both the "David and Jonathan" of college life favoured me with their presence and sympathy; and another *fifty years* afterwards, when a gathering of private friends in the royal town took place to celebrate the jubilee of the old man whom God has spared so long. In the latter instance, Richard delivered a speech full of wisdom and geniality, touching upon the past, the present, and the future, all lighted up with the radiance of thoughtfulness and piety.

Dr. Stoughton adds some references to Mr. Richard's after-career as a public man and a statesman. He also testifies that the ministry of his friend at Marlborough Chapel for the succeeding years was decidedly successful.

When Mr. Richard took charge of the place the prospect was not brilliant. The building was adapted for about a thousand people, and there was a large congregation. But the Church membership was small, the people were by no means united, and the debt was heavy. Under his energetic and judicious management the Church increased in numbers, the various institutions associated with Marlborough Chapel were resuscitated, and flourishing schools were created. His interest in popular education was specially marked, and was no doubt stimulated by his intimacy with Lieutenant Fabian, who was at that time a zealous supporter of the British and Foreign School Society.

CHAPTER II.

WELSH EDUCATION AND DISSENT.

Before Mr. Richard had been many years settled at Marlborough Chapel, ministering to an attached people, and giving a useful direction to local institutions, opportunities offered for serving his fellow-countrymen, and for using his growing influence in the cause of popular education. In 1843 it fell to his lot (to use his own words) "to be in some humble measure an interpreter between England and Wales." The so-called "Rebecca Riots" of that year enabled him to begin a service to his misjudged countrymen, which was continued and expanded in many subsequent years, and may be said to have materially helped to alter the relations between the people of England and the people of Wales. At that time the turnpike gates were an oppressive burden to the tenant-farmers of the Principality, who found the roads at intervals of every few miles impeded by these vexatious obstructions. The grievance was felt most severely in Cardiganshire—Mr. Richard's native county—and Carmarthenshire, where the young farmers, with a relish for adventure, organised themselves under a mythical "Rebecca," and demolished the gates at night. As usual, the nature and extent of these riotous proceedings were exaggerated

in the English papers; and in a letter to the *Daily News*, and in a paper read to the Congregational Union, Mr. Richard reduced these midnight disturbances to their real significance. Without justifying such acts of violence, he pointed out that they had no political importance, but were based upon a grievous hardship. The timely intervention of Mr. Richard in this matter received the grateful recognition of his countrymen. Government Commissioners were sent down to South Wales to investigate the causes of the Rebecca Riots, and they mainly supported Mr. Richard's conclusions. In their report it was certified that the average amount of crime in South Wales was so small, that a large proportion of the magistrates' duties was "of a ministerial rather than a judicial nature." These grievances were soon after, to a great extent, redressed.

In the same year was introduced into Parliament Sir James Graham's Factories Education Bill, which received the strong support of Lord John Russell and other Whig leaders, although it was evidently designed to augment the power of the Established Church. Its main proposal, it may be said, was to establish district schools throughout the country, to each of which should be attached a clergyman authorised to teach the Catechism, while the children of Dissenters were graciously allowed to receive religious instruction from any licensed ministers of their own denominations. Further, the management of these schools was virtually vested in the clergy and those who sympathised with them. The Bill created the utmost excitement among Nonconformists.

A formidable opposition was at once organised; meetings were held throughout the country; adverse petitions poured into Parliament; and after fruitless attempts to modify the measure, it was withdrawn. This obnoxious proposal led to two results—a movement for the formation of an Anti-State Church Association, which was next year realised; and the creation of the Congregational Board of Education, which raised funds for the promotion of popular instruction in connection with the denomination, and originated the Training Institution at Homerton. Dissenters generally felt that their responsibilities to the mass of the people were greatly increased by the defeat of Sir James Graham's Bill, and there was in various directions an outburst of zeal in favour of the extension of popular education. With both the movements referred to, the minister of Marlborough Chapel was more or less prominently identified.

It was natural that Mr. Richard's zeal on behalf of popular education should be accentuated in respect to Wales, his special object being to defend the character of his countrymen against the assaults made on their intelligence and morality, and to enlist the interest of English Nonconformists on behalf of their brethren in the Principality. "In 1844," he says, "I was appointed, in conjunction with the Rev. John Blackburn, to visit the Congregational Churches of Wales as a deputation from the Congregational Union. On my return I prepared two reports: one on the religious state of the Principality, which was presented to the Union at its

autumnal meeting at Norwich in that year, and which, I think, did something to bring the Nonconformists of England and Wales into nearer relations; the other, on the state of education in Wales, was presented to the Congregational Board of Education. On my suggestion that body called a Conference on Education at Llandovery, in which they were joined by the Wesleyan Committee on Education. It was a large and representative gathering. A 'South Wales Committee on Education' was formed, which led to the institution of a normal School for Training Teachers, first at Brecon and then at Swansea, and directly or indirectly to the establishment of a large number of day schools in the various counties of South Wales."*

This is, however, somewhat anticipating the course of events. Lord John Russell's celebrated Minutes of Council were a great trial to the supporters of popular education amongst the Nonconformist bodies—for they required the giving of definite religious instruction in order to secure the Parliamentary grant; and at a great Educational Conference held in Crosby Hall, their

* Introduction to "Letters and Essays on Wales" (1883). One incident in connection with Mr. Richard's visit to Wales in 1844 is worth recording. It was his first visit to Merthyr, he little thinking that he would subsequently and with so much distinction represent that constituency in Parliament. "A Welsh *Cymanfa*," we are told, "was being held, and large crowds had gathered on the preaching-field." It was about ten years since Mr. Richard had left Wales, and he was almost regarded as an Englishman. But in the course of his address on this occasion, finding that the meeting flagged, he suddenly changed to his native language. The effect was electrical. His hearers were as delighted as they were astonished at being addressed with so much fervour and fluency in the vernacular, and greeted their native orator with enthusiasm.

amendment was strongly insisted on, but without avail. Mr. Richard took a prominent part in the agitation, on the special ground that the Government plan would press with peculiar hardship on Wales, the great body of Welshmen being Dissenters. The same statement was subsequently made in the House of Commons by Mr. Bright—who was then making his mark in that Assembly—upon which a Tory paper charged Mr. Bright and Mr. Richard with having been guilty of "enormous lying." The British and Foreign School Society, which was so largely sustained by Dissenters, and had been receiving substantial aid in carrying on its training institutions from the Congregational Board, having accepted the conditions imposed by the Minutes, many of its subscribers withdrew their support, and they eventually formed the Voluntary School Association on an undenominational basis, and on the principle of repudiating all Government grants. The new society was liberally supported, and did good service in helping schools in various parts of the country, and in establishing one or two training institutions. Among its leading supporters were Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. G. W. Alexander, Mr. Sturge, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. Miall, and prominent members of the Baptist body and the Society of Friends. Mr. Richard took an active interest in its operations, and was for some time its honorary secretary. But in course of time the Association languished, and was finally submerged when the conditions of the educational problem became changed.

In 1847 Mr. Richard had another opportunity of

rendering a service to his countrymen, which marked him out as one of their chosen leaders. The controversy referred to above as to the preponderance of Dissent in the Principality was ere long followed by the appointment of a Government Commission to inquire into the educational condition of Wales. Its members were Mr. Lingen, Mr. Vaughan Johnson, and Mr. Symons—three young barristers—the last-named a most violent opponent of Welsh Nonconformity. They began their work with a foregone conclusion. They were sent to make out a case in favour of Government aid and interference, and this could best be effected by misrepresenting Nonconformists. First they consulted the Welsh bishops, the result being that out of a dozen Assistant Commissioners, some ten were Churchmen —"mostly half-fledged young clerics from Lampeter." The proportion of persons who gave evidence was 232 Churchmen to 79 Dissenters, though the population was overwhelmingly in favour of Nonconformity; while of the Church witnesses about seventy per cent. were clergymen. Three ponderous Blue-Books were the result of this inquiry; the general conclusion being that there was not a more ignorant, superstitious, idle, drunken, lewd, and lying population under the sun than the people of Wales. The English newspapers, especially those of a Liberal turn, were staggered at this terrible indictment, which implied, as one of them said, that "Wales was fast settling down into the most savage barbarism." In the Principality itself the surprise created by these atrocious libels was only surpassed by the indignation

they excited. About this time a course of lectures on education at Crosby Hall, under the auspices of the Congregational Board, was projected, and Mr. Richard was requested to deliver one of them, his subject being "The Progress and Efficacy of Voluntary Education, as exemplified in Wales;" or, as it might more fitly have been headed, "A Vindication of the Welsh People from the Aspersions of the Education Commissioners." His general conclusion was that "when the most ample concessions have been made with regard to the social evils we have still to deplore in the Principality, I do not hesitate to affirm that these Reports present even those evils in a most aggravated form, while almost all the good, which might serve to relieve and modify these dark colours, is habitually, studiously, and systematically kept back," suggesting, by their very audacity, "that the poor Welsh were an obscure, defenceless, and unfriended people, on whom they could practise any injustice with impunity, because there was no one to stand up in vindication of their rights." A potent champion, however, they found in a countryman whose absence from his native land never quenched his patriotism. Mr. Richard, though his denunciations are scathing enough, did not limit himself to general denials. He subjected the whole indictment to the most searching investigation, denying the truth of the allegations by elaborate statistics—in which Mr. Edward Baines* gave him valuable help—by the testimony of

* Now Sir Edward Baines. This venerable reformer and advocate, for a long course of years, of popular education, has lately entered upon

trustworthy Welshmen, who were *not* Nonconformists, of judges at assizes, of fellow-countrymen who had, at his request, collected local evidence; and he showed, moreover, that the views of the most eminent Nonconformist witnesses had been entirely suppressed; that those who dealt in the foulest aspersions were either clergymen or renegade Dissenters, or men who combined both these characters; and that the questions were often framed—especially those relating to churches and Sunday schools—with an undisguised animus on the part of the officials.

Mr. Richard, after pointing out the utter want of sympathy with the religious system of the Welsh people, which was everywhere apparent in these reports, shows how, by means of voluntaryism, the fervent religious zeal of the people, and the services of a race of native godly pastors and preachers, the country had been covered with places of worship and Sunday schools, and an immense advance had been made in providing day school instruction and wholesome literature. The best proof of the efficacy of these agencies was—and is—the singular absence of crime in the Principality, which greatly struck Mr. Commissioner Symons, who reported, "the gaols are empty," which this astute inquirer accounted for, not by the religious and moral qualities of the population, but by "the extreme caution" of the

his eightieth year; and it is gratifying to know that in his well-earned retirement from active life, he is in the enjoyment of good health, and that his great services to every good cause are universally appreciated.

people, and their "natural benevolence and warmth of heart"! As an overwhelming vindication of the national character, and an eloquent tribute to their primitive virtues, Mr. Richard's lecture is unsurpassed. It exhibits a grasp of his subject, and an industry in gathering the necessary materials, which was only the precursor of similar labours in another field of philanthropy. The following passage has not only a genuine pathos, but illustrates the deep attachment of the author to the land which gave him birth:—

There are in Wales, as there are, unhappily, in every community under heaven, extreme instances of gross depravity. But, in the name of all common-sense and justice, is it fair to take these as the standard by which to form your estimate of a whole people, and, on the strength of them, to rush to the conclusion that "their habits are those of animals," and that they are "fast sinking into the most savage barbarism"? Apply the same test to the population of this metropolis. Let a number of men be appointed, who shall regard it as their duty to rake up all the ignorance, and filth, and vice, and depravity, and wretchedness to be found in London, and let them bring forth the most hideous examples of pollution they can find as illustrations of the state of society; and, let me ask you, would you be content that any foreigner should form a judgment of the whole metropolitan community from such materials as these? As I have been wading my way through these enormous volumes, where, I have asked myself again and again, are the hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands of my poor countrymen, who are the worthy, consistent, and exemplary members of our Dissenting Churches, who, in their humble stations, exemplify the power and loveliness of Christian principle, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things—from whose stone hearths there ascends, day and night, the incense of a simple spiritual devotion, perhaps more acceptable in the sight of Him that reads the heart than the glittering pomp of priestly pageantries, or the pealing swell of cathedral music; whose homely huts, though devoid of all pretensions to the elegancies, and even

many of the comforts of life, are nevertheless adorned with the beauty of holiness? Where is the record of these men's characters and virtues? That there are hundreds and thousands of such, I know. Have I not stood beneath their humble roofs, whose naked rafters were polished and japanned by the smoke of the mountain turf? Have I not sat at their uncovered deal tables, to partake of their buttermilk and oatmeal-bread, which, coarse fare though it be, they feel a hospitable pride in dispensing? Have I not knelt on the mud floor, beside the wretched pallets on which they were stretched, and learned from lips pallid with the hue of death, lessons of Christian resignation, of holy and triumphant confidence in God, such as I never learned elsewhere? Where, I say, are these men who shed the lustre of their humble piety over the hills and glens of my native land? I find no trace of them in these Blue Books; and, until I do find them, I utterly refuse to accept their contents as a fair representation of the character of my countrymen.

In a touching peroration, Mr. Richard invited the co-operation of so large a body of intelligent and high-minded gentlemen in his efforts to vindicate his calumniated country, and asked them, as fellow-Christians and fellow-Dissenters, to assist in defeating the conspiracy against freedom of religion and education in Wales.

This masterly lecture was subsequently published in a separate form, and very widely circulated, involving the author in much correspondence, in addition to his ordinary ministerial engagements, and increasing committee work, for which he was in great request. As will subsequently appear, the Welsh people never forgot the obligation they were under to their volunteer champion at a critical time. At this period, and long after, Mr. Richard was installed in his comfortable bachelor home in Surrey Square, surrounded by a well-stocked theological library, and an abundance of other books.

But he was by no means a self-absorbed recluse, and was able to welcome with true cordiality friends who might look in upon him.

The available details of Mr. Richard's life as a Congregational minister and pastor, beyond those referred to upon his retirement in 1850 (see chapter v.), are naturally scanty, and very few indeed of the members of his church and congregation are now to be found after the lapse of nearly forty years. We get a few glimpses of him, however, in some reminiscences which have appeared in the *Freeman*, from the pen of Mr. John Eastty, of Bermondsey:—

When I first heard Mr. Richard in my very youthful days I did not even know his name; he was preaching as "a supply" in the absence of one of the most popular ministers of the day (the Rev. James Sherman) to one of the largest congregations of that time. I can recall even now the impression made by his sermon, for I remember his text (Rom. xi. 21), and I have always maintained that if a sermon prints ineffaceably upon your memory the words of the text in identification with any particular preacher, it is a proof that the sermon was one of power. As a substitute his services were eagerly sought to supply the pulpit of the most gifted Metropolitan ministers, and the people were always edified and delighted. But he came into extreme prominence by his eloquent platform speeches in opposition to Sir James Graham's Factory Education Bill. There was much excitement on the subject, and the Government had to withdraw it. From that time he was a prominent public figure, especially as the advocate of civil and religious liberty. This was his battle-field. Here I call to remembrance the pleasure of a charming evening spent in his company in the house of one of the members of his congregation. Of the conversation I recollect nothing, but I distinctly remember that we had a little psalmody with our favourite Hymns and Tunes, accompanied on the piano by a daughter of the host.

As a preacher, Mr. Richard was not given to extempore utterance.

He read his sermons, but with an unusual grace and emphasis, accompanied by appropriate action; and the hearer was so intent upon the expression of his countenance and his earnestness of manner that he scarcely observed the turning of the leaves of the manuscript, so deftly was it done. Of some of his sermons I retain the impression to this day. Two or three especially: one from the text, "He saved others, Himself he cannot save;" and another upon "Heaven," in which he suddenly quoted Pope's well-known lines in illustration of the various ideas entertained of the nature of the "better country." What he said was always direct to the purpose, whether from the platform or the pulpit, and I remember distinctly to this day how *apropos* to his subject was a quotation from one of Burke's letters to a friend, "That he would not give a peck of refuse wheat for all that the world calls fame." Shortly after he became a member of Parliament he ceased to preach from the pulpit, so that my recollections are associated with his earlier, and especially his middle life. He would sometimes come home with me after the Morning Service, and occasionally after the Evening, and he was a most genial and welcome guest. I remember what interest he took in the members of the family and their pursuits, and especially his amusement on seeing the "little child" drawing a kitten about in a toy cart. All these memories and scenes come up again, and do you not think that one cause of attachment to the house in which you live is the fragrant remembrance of some who have been in it and "eaten of your salt"?

CHAPTER III.

THE SECRETARY OF THE PEACE SOCIETY, AND THE BRUSSELS PEACE CONGRESS.

THE Peace Society was established as far back as 1816. Its chief promoters were members of the Society of Friends, Mr. Clarkson, the anti-slavery champion, being conspicuous amongst them. Although from time to time the Society appeared before the public, and did much to inculcate its principles—the chief of which was the sinfulness of all war—and to commend arbitration as the best means of settling international differences, it never up to 1848 occupied a very commanding position before the world. At the beginning of that year the Rev. John Jefferson was the secretary of the Society, having succeeded the Rev. Nun Morgan Harry in that office; and amongst its prominent supporters were Mr. Chas. Hindley, M.P., Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. G. W. Alexander, Dr. Pye Smith, the Rev. John Burnet, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. J. S. Buckingham, and Dr. Bowring, M.P.—who, by a strange fatality, was subsequently the author of the Chinese (*Arrow* lorcha) war, one of the most unjustifiable wars of modern times. Mr. Elihu Burritt was ventilating his Ocean Penny Postage scheme in the *Herald of Peace*—a plan which is still being discussed at the instance of Mr. Henniker Heaton; the country — or, at least,

Parliament and the Press—was agitated on the familiar subject of national defence, in consequence of the alarmist proposals of the Iron Duke, then in his seventy-seventh year, in view of the probability of a French invasion; and Mr. Cobden was denouncing the expenditure of so large a sum as seventeen millions a year* upon the army, navy, and ordnance. At the annual meeting of "The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace"—to give the full title—on the 22nd of May it was announced that the Rev. John Jefferson had been obliged to retire from the secretariat in consequence of failing health, and that the Committee had secured in the person of the Rev. Henry Richard "an able and efficient successor."

The time was opportune for such special service as Mr. Richard could give, and he was now in full mental and bodily vigour, having just celebrated his thirty-sixth birthday. It was "the year of Revolutions." On the 22nd of February, King Louis Philippe's throne toppled over. He and his chief Minister, M. Guizot, had obstinately resisted the demand for an enlargement of the suffrage. A Reform banquet being prohibited in Paris, the mob interfered, the National Guard sided with them, barricades were erected, the soldiers refused to fire, and for safety's sake the King and family had to leave Paris in a cab, and with difficulty "Mr. Smith" and his consort found their way to Newhaven, where they landed in a miserable

* The cost of the Army and Navy services in 1888 was nearly thirty millions, and the cry for national defence is as loud and confident as ever!

plight.* Then came the Second Republic and the "Provisional Government," of which M. Lamartine was the principal member. The emphatic pacific assurances of the poet-politician, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his abolition of capital punishment for political offences, restored confidence throughout Europe, and obliged our governing classes to desist from attempts to excite an invasion-panic, and become passive spectators of the conflict in the French capital, of the formidable rising of North Italy against Austrian domination, of the revolt of the Two Sicilies against King Bomba, of the outbreaks in Berlin and Vienna, and later on, of the deplorable Hungarian struggle. Although authority in the end asserted itself in the several Continental States, international ambitions and jealousies were for a time quenched, and Europe seemed to be entering on an era of peace, except for the ill-omened struggle between Prussia and Denmark for the possession of Schleswig.

At all events, in consequence apparently of the exciting revolutionary changes on the Continent, public opinion at home had undergone a sudden revulsion in favour of peace; so much so, that at the Mansion House banquet to Her Majesty's Ministers towards the end of June, both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston adroitly echoed the general opinion; the former maintaining that "if we had no better sentiment, our

* As was caustically said by the Rev. John Burnet, at a subsequent Peace meeting, "We were afraid that Louis Philippe would come to our country. He did come, but it was in a little cockle-shell of a boat, and he left his fleet and his army behind him."

own interests would induce us to desire the maintenance of peace, the progress of arts, the international amity of Europe and the world." Curiously enough the *Times* took even a more decided line in the same direction, asserting that "if there should arise the least suspicion that an ambitious, quarrelsome, or simply foolish Minister was about to drag this country into war, we should very soon have millions rising up and binding his hands, as the country's worst foe"—for "war is destitution, famine, disease, and death." Mr. Richard, therefore, came to the conclusion that "if the friends of peace had at their disposal the necessary means, much might be done, and done effectually, in the present condition of the European mind, to diffuse the great principles which are adapted and destined to bring the whole war system to a perpetual end."

Out of this conviction sprang the resolution to try the experiment of a series of International Peace Congresses. The proposal originated with Mr. Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith" of the United States, who had long been labouring on behalf of the Bond of Brotherhood, and who with generous ardour now crossed the Atlantic to see if his new project could be carried into effect. Mr. Burritt met with a cordial reception from Mr. Joseph Sturge—always foremost in every good work—from Mr. Henry Richard, and from all the leading supporters of the Peace Society. His specific suggestion was that the first Congress should be held at Paris; and in the summer of 1848 he proceeded alone to that city, intent upon giving effect to this purpose. But

influential friends there came to the conclusion that, owing to the great political excitement in France, especially on the question of Italy, it was not prudent or practicable to hold the Convention in the French capital. The friends in London then directed their attention to Brussels, and Mr. Burritt, with other gentlemen, went thither to make the arrangements. This was the first of a series of Conferences on the same subject; those which followed being held successively in Paris, Frankfort, London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. To describe each one in detail in these pages would not be expedient; but happily Mr. Richard has left behind him a number of fragmentary diaries, which reveal his share in promoting these assemblies, and abound in graphic descriptions of the leading actors, and the countries visited. The main objects of these Congresses, which proved to be of European importance, were, in brief, to substitute arbitration for war in international differences, to promote non-intervention and a mutual reduction of armaments, and to improve in every way international communications.

In connection with this movement, Mr. Richard takes occasion to refer to the invaluable assistance of Mr. Joseph Sturge, with whom he was first brought into contact on entering upon his duties as Secretary of the Peace Society, and who was, to a large extent, its animating spirit:—

His activity of body and mind was marvellous. As the poet says of another character, "He was a man of an unsleeping spirit," nor was it easy for any one engaged in the same enterprise with him to slumber at his post. At the slightest intimation he would speed

to any part of the kingdom to attend a public meeting, or to confer with some important friend of the cause. If funds were required to carry on the agitation, his hand was ever "open as day," while his applications to others—from which, though not a very pleasant duty, he never shrunk—few could be found to resist, coming from one who was known to testify his own value of the cause on whose behalf he pleaded by such large sacrifices of time, labour, and money. But more valuable than all to those associated with him were those moral qualities of character by which he was distinguished, and the sunny cheerfulness of mind which seldom failed to light up the less sanguine spirits of some of his associates with a ray of hope in the darkest hour of discouragement and gloom." *

The Government as well as the people of Belgium acquiesced with great cordiality in the holding of the first Peace Congress in Brussels, and M. Rogier, the Prime Minister, and a committee of gentlemen, gave every assistance to Mr. Burritt and his companions in perfecting the arrangements. Some two hundred British and American delegates, accompanied by not a few ladies, crossed on September 19th to Ostend, where they received a hearty welcome, and thence proceeded by special train to Brussels. Next day the Congress was opened in the Hall of the Harmonic Society—a magnificent saloon beautifully decorated for the occasion—by M. Auguste Visschers, who had a European reputation as a *savant* and philanthropist, in an impressive and felicitous speech. The session lasted three days, and amongst the gentlemen who took a prominent part in the proceedings, besides those already mentioned, were a number of eminent Frenchmen, Dutch, Italians, and

* "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge." Partridge and Co. 1844.

Americans, as well as Englishmen. Neither Mr. Cobden nor Mr. Bright was present at the Congress, but the former sent through Mr. Sturge a letter dwelling on the cost of European armaments, and concluding:—"Your Congress will be the protest of a minority against a system repugnant alike to humanity and common sense." In closing the business proceedings—which were followed by a grand soirée in the evening—the President said: "The presence of the Apostles of Peace in our city is an event in which our population is deeply interested, and I am proud to say that the first stone of the Temple of Peace has been laid at Brussels."

Commenting on the Brussels Congress soon after his return home, the Secretary of the Peace Society remarked:—

To the friends who originated this project, and to those whose wise foresight and indefatigable exertions, both in Brussels and at home, so essentially subserved it, the marked and unequivocal success which attended the whole demonstration must be a source of deep and lasting satisfaction. Of the spirit and conduct displayed by the Belgian Government, and those gentlemen of Brussels who associated themselves in the undertaking, it is not possible to speak too highly. The frank courtesy with which the delegates were received by all parties was in itself most gratifying as a token of friendly feeling. But there was on the part of many of the Belgian friends an exhibition of something better and higher than mere conventional courtesy, whether individual or national, in the manifest evidences they gave of deep interest, of thorough and earnest heartiness, in the great principles for the advancement of which the Congress was convened—a heartiness which furnished assurance to those present that their exertions will not be allowed to cease with the temporary excitement of the occasion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARIS PEACE CONGRESS—INTERVIEWS WITH FRENCH MINISTERS AND PUBLIC MEN.

BEFORE the friends separated at Brussels, it was formally resolved that in the succeeding year a similar Congress should be held in Paris or some other great European city; the success in the Belgian capital making the decision a safe one. The Peace Society had now entered upon a period of prosperity. Large subscriptions began to flow in to assist in the prosecution of its promising work, towards which a fund of £5,000 was started; its monthly organ, the *Herald of Peace*, mainly prepared by the Secretary, was enlarged; and the autumn and winter were devoted to a vigorous agitation, in which Mr. Richard took his full share.*

* Considerable stimulus was given to the movement by the unexpected though comparative success of Mr. Cobden's motion in June, 1849, for inviting foreign Powers to concur in treaties binding the parties to refer matters in dispute to arbitration. Lord Palmerston moved the previous question, which was carried by 176 to 79. This seems to be a small minority, but it was the first time the question was mooted in the House of Commons. The mover was exceedingly well supported out of doors. Mr. Cobden says: "Ever since the beginning of the session, I had to run the gauntlet of the small wits of the House, who amused themselves at my expense, and tittered at the very word 'arbitration.' These men would have been as eager as any Quaker to profess a desire for peace, but were prepared to pooh-pooh as utterly visionary any plan for trying to put down the cherished institution of war. It was to meet these people on what they considered their strong ground, that I dwelt upon the practical views

The Committee were prepared to take time by the forelock, conscious that for a Peace Convention in Paris careful preparation would be required. At their request, therefore, Mr. Richard and Mr. Burritt went to Paris in the April of 1849, and took up their quarters at the Hôtel Bedford. They brought with them an address to President Louis Napoleon, which they were subsequently advised not to present at that time; but their main object was to feel their way to the projected Peace Convention. In a diary, evidently written with great care, and extending over nearly two hundred pages, Mr. Richard jotted down from day to day his impressions of men and things, in a style which shows that he was a keen and sagacious observer. A long conference on their arrival with M. Bouvet and Mr. Lacan, a young and enthusiastic supporter of peace, gave the deputation an encouraging view of the disposition of eminent Frenchmen, which, as Mr. Richard says, "sent us to rest with the sunshine of hope in our hearts." As often as possible they seized the opportunity of seeing the lions of the French capital, visiting the Louvre, the Madeleine, with its "gaudy and gorgeous" interior and its service,

of my scheme, and it was some satisfaction to me to see nearly half of my audience leave the House without voting, and to draw from Lord Palmerston a speech full of admissions, which ended by an amendment avowedly framed to escape a direct negative of my motion." (*Morley's Life of Cobden.*) Mr. Cobden felt so much encouraged that he promised to repeat the motion in the succeeding year. But circumstances were adverse, and as a matter of fact it was not renewed till twenty-four years later, when, as will be seen, Mr. Richard carried a similar proposal by a majority of ten.

"which is a splendid theatrical exhibition," Notre Dame, hospitals, schools, etc. Mr. George Sumner, brother to the more celebrated Charles Sumner, secured them an admission to the National Assembly; and they had interviews with M. Emile Girardin, editor of *La Presse*, then the most powerful journalist in Paris; M. Coquerel, the eloquent Protestant orator; and M. Bastiat, the eminent writer on political economy. On two of these celebrities Mr. Richard has the following notes:—

M. Girardin lives in the Champs Elysées. He received us with great kindness, and when we mentioned to him the proposed Congress in August, he said of his own accord, "I shall be happy to attend." We then told him that it was intended to form an organising committee to make the necessary arrangements, and that we ventured to look to him as one of our most important auxiliaries. He answered without hesitation that he would join it cheerfully.

M. Bastiat, to whom we had an introduction from Mr. Cobden, also gave us a very friendly reception, listened with great patience and attention to our explanations about the Congress, and then stated his own views at large about the present condition of France, and the imperative necessity for a reduction of its armaments. Every year, he said, France expends more than she receives. There is only one way to meet this deficiency—the increase of taxation, which means an increase in the sufferings of the people, already irritated against the rich by the dangerous insinuations of Socialism. As to the Conference, they must avoid making it a purely English demonstration. The old prejudices against England still to a considerable extent existed, and they were much aggravated by the disposition of the English Oligarchy to interfere in European politics. I replied that the presence of delegates from America and other countries would tend to obviate this. He said he was in full sympathy with their object, and would readily consent to be on the Committee of Organisation. He expressed great satisfaction that we had won over M. Girardin, which was a great conquest.

The English deputation were taken by M. Bouvet to the gallery of the National Assembly, where they heard a debate. The President of the day was M. Armand Marrast, and amongst the notabilities present were Lamartine, Arago, Garnier-Pages, Cremieux, and Passy. The proceedings were not, however, exceptionally interesting, the discussion turning on the compensation to be given for the abolition of slavery in the Colonies, and, in consequence of the buzz of conversation, it was very imperfectly heard by the visitors. The mannerisms of the speakers included a peculiar intonation of the voice, and the quick and constant shaking of the uplifted forefinger, specially struck Mr. Richard. Most of the speeches were read, and the MS. quietly taken by the reporters, and not a few were printed, though not delivered in full, and appeared in the *Moniteur*, the French Hansard. Altogether, Mr. Richard does not seem to have been particularly impressed by this casual visit to the National Assembly.

M. Visschers, the President of the Brussels Congress, who had willingly obeyed a summons from Mr. Richard to come to Paris and give them the benefit of his counsels, now appeared on the scene, and brought the good news that Lamartine would receive them in the evening. At eight o'clock they made their appearance at his residence in the Rue de l'Université. It may be premised that the illustrious Frenchman, though no longer Minister for Foreign Affairs, was still a great power in the State. The diary goes on:—

We were received by him immediately. He came outside a sort

of ante-chamber, and took us in to another room, where they were sitting apparently *en famille*, and introduced us to Madame de Lamartine. He asked us if we could talk French, and, when we answered no, he turned to his lady and said, "Will you speak to the gentlemen in English?" which she did kindly and gracefully, and added, "M. Lamartine can understand you when speaking English, but is not in the habit of speaking it himself." She is a beautiful woman, and considerably younger than he is. He is a noble-looking man, fully six feet high, with a fine countenance, and a deep-toned musical voice. He half reclined on a sofa, while a pretty little white greyhound leaned its face fondly against his. After exchanging a few indifferent remarks, he introduced the subject of our visit himself by referring to the Congress at Brussels, of which he spoke with much interest. M. Visschers then opened the business by saying that in the month of August it was intended to hold a Peace Congress in Paris, and that we three appeared before him, not in our personal capacity, but as an embassy, representing the three committees of England, America, and Belgium, and through them hundreds of thousands of persons in those countries, with instructions from our constituents to ask his sanction to the object. "Well," he said, "and what do you wish me to do, gentlemen?" M. Visschers replied, "When the English and American delegates arrive, we wish that some one in France should receive and welcome them at Paris." Without hesitation, he said, "I accept that office with great pleasure. But is that all?" "No, sir," replied M. Visschers; "we want some one to obtain permission from the Government to hold the Congress, and to procure and prepare a suitable room in which it may be held." Again he replied with great promptitude, "I will do that also with pleasure. And is that all?" "No, sir," continued M. Visschers, "we want somebody to undertake the organisation of a committee of such gentlemen as are likely to sympathise with the movement, in order to prepare for the Congress." "Well," he said, "I will speak to a number of gentlemen on that subject, and ask them if they will unite for such a purpose. Have you thought of any names that would be suitable?" M. Visschers then mentioned several of whom we had been previously speaking. M. Lamartine desired his secretary to take down their names, such as Bastiat, Wolowski, Horace Say, Larochefoucault, Beranger, etc. etc., all of whom he

approved, and suggested several others himself. "But I do not know," he said, "that these gentlemen will consent to act." "But will you, sir," replied M. Visschers, "have the goodness to ask them to meet us, and hear what we have to say on the subject?" This he promised to do. "But I cannot," he added, "be the President of the Congress. There are certain political considerations which would compel me to decline that position." M. Visschers answered with great prudence and tact, "We need not discuss that matter now. The Congress must choose its *own* President. What we are authorised to do at present is to invite you to become President of the Committee of Organisation." "Well, gentlemen, I will take it into consideration." At this point of the conversation certain elegantly dressed ladies, having been announced, entered, apparently as if for a party. M. de Lamartine having to attend to them, we could not with propriety prolong our visit, and took our departure.

This interview took place on the 23rd of April. Mr. Richard had lately been reading, with intense interest, Lamartine's "Confidences," in which he told the story of his early days with that magic of imaginative art which clothes the palpable and the familiar

"With golden exhalations of the dawn."

How contrasted with these dreamy poetic pictures of his youth, says the diarist, was the majestic attitude in which he appeared before the memory, standing in the window of the Hôtel de Ville during the Revolution of February, fronting the frantic and howling multitude which rolled and surged like the sea in its fury around the building, and by the force of his marvellous eloquence

"Wielding at will that fierce democracy."

Two or three weeks after, the delegates had another interview with the great poet-orator, to whom they had

sent a richly-bound copy of the American "Essays on Peace," together with a flattering address, testifying to the veneration and enthusiasm felt for his name and character throughout England and America, and informing him that MM. Bastiat, Bouvet, Wolowski, Girardin, Horace Say, and other distinguished Frenchmen, had consented to act on the Committee of Organisation. M. de Lamartine having expressed a wish again to see Mr. Burritt and Mr. Richard, they waited on him:—

On our names being announced, he came out immediately into the ante-room and conducted us into the room where we had seen him before, and where he presented us again to Madame de Lamartine. He was quite *en déshabille*, smoking a cigar, with his hands in his pockets. On our entrance he told us in broken English that he was much obliged to us for the beautiful books we had left him in the morning. Madame seemed a little ashamed of his English, and interposed to say the same thing herself in better language. He then told us that he was very glad to see us again before our departure from Paris, and that Madame Lamartine would act as interpreter between us. She then, turning to us, said, "M. de Lamartine has been much occupied about your business, but he finds everybody so absorbed with the elections and the political excitement of the time, that he could get none of them to attend to it at the present moment." We expressed our deep acknowledgments, and told her that we attached the greatest importance to his adherence to our cause, as we believed, from the profound admiration felt for him in England and America, the assurance of his having connected himself with the movement would give it a greater impulse than anything else could. Here we found that we had touched rather a sore point. The gross calumnies and the ungenerous reflections which the London Tory papers had published against him had evidently wounded his mind very deeply, the more especially as, he told us, he had always been the friend of England, and had advocated peace and alliance with England at a time when it was very unpopular in France. Madame, who we are told worships her

husband, and watches over his fame as a mother would over her child, was evidently yet more embittered, and expressed herself in terms which seemed to imply that she could not reconcile our representation of the state of feeling in England towards M. de Lamartine with the spirit displayed by the Press. This was rather a critical moment. I therefore began a little speech, and told her, with as much earnestness and eloquence as I could command, that I was quite aware of the tone of remark assumed by some of the London journals, and was not in the least surprised that M. de Lamartine should have a strong impression of the injustice he had suffered at their hands. But I begged to convey to her the most confident assurances that these papers did not represent the opinion and judgment of the great bulk of the English public; that no men had ever enjoyed a better opportunity of ascertaining what that opinion was than Mr. Burritt and myself, who had within the last three months traversed the whole country, holding public meetings, which were attended by crowded audiences, in all the principal towns of England and Scotland; that we had seldom omitted alluding to M. de Lamartine as the friend of peace, and that in every case the mention of his name was the signal for the most unanimous and enthusiastic bursts of applause. Mr. Burritt sustained this declaration. Madame de Lamartine was evidently much gratified, and eagerly interrupted M. de Lamartine, who was then engaged in conversation with Mr. Sumner, in order to convey to him word for word what we had said. He bowed, and replied that he was very pleased to hear it. He then rose and came over to sit by his wife on the sofa, in order to be nearer us. I then repeated my statement, and added that they would be doing great injustice to the English people if they regarded those papers as interpreting their sentiments and feelings, that they were in fact only the organ of a section of the oligarchy. "I am glad to hear that," he said, "but unfortunately this is not known on the Continent, as the public here have no other means of knowing the state of feeling in England except through those papers."

Mr. Burritt then interposed to assure him of the deep reverence felt in America for his genius and character, and expressed his conviction that if the fact were known in his country that he had connected himself with the proposed demonstration in August, it

would contribute more than anything else to bring over a large delegation from the United States. M. de Lamartine at considerable length assured us that the subject of peace was one that had engaged his thoughts and sympathies for many years, as his works could testify; that under the former *régime* in France he had always been the partisan of peace; and that when the last Revolution burst forth, he saw that there was at first the same inclination among the multitude for war as had been shown after the first Revolution; that he had set himself resolutely to resist this feeling and guide the national aspirations in another direction; and he believed it was by the power then given him over the multitude that European war was prevented. He added that he had a deep conviction of the final and speedy triumph of our cause, and that he would cheerfully take part in our labours.

At the suggestion of Mr. Richard, M. de Lamartine said he would willingly go to London and attend a meeting to ratify the proceedings of the delegates, and confirm by his presence the reality of the peace sentiment in France. Mr. George Sumner, who had accompanied the visitors, remarked that they would return to England greatly encouraged by the consciousness that they had secured his sanction. "Ah, sir," Lamartine replied, "you will have the sanction of God, which is a much greater thing than that of a poor, insignificant creature such as I am."

It is possible that Mr. Richard, dazzled by the pre-eminent services of the French patriot at a critical time, overrated his influence, though a theatrical leader ought to have the confidence of a nation so fond of display. But as a matter of fact Lamartine's reputation was already on the wane, and he evidently felt it much. He declined to call the proposed meeting to initiate

a committee; he declined even to sign the joint circular. Shortly after, he returned to Maçon, and led a life of retirement, from which he never emerged, leaving the responsibilities of statecraft to men of feebler sentiment and tougher fibre.

The following are further extracts from Mr. Richard's diary relative to some of the other political celebrities in the French capital with whom he came in contact, including the members of the Society of Economists, M. de Tocqueville, M. Dufaure, M. Arago, and M. Carnot :—

July 10.—At six proceeded to the Restaurant in the Champs Elysées, where the dinner of the Société d'Économie Politique was to take place. Found we were rather early. After a while, many gentlemen arrived, to the number of about twenty-five, when we sat down to a very elegant dinner under the presidency of M. Horace Say. Their vigilant politeness had arranged our seats on either side of a gentleman who spoke English remarkably well, and immediately in front of the President, who was supported on the right and left by two distinguished Austrian gentlemen, who have been sent by their Government into this country to examine the productions of French industry contained in the quinquennial Exposition, now open in Paris. During the dinner we had ample opportunity of observing the freedom and vivacity of French manners. The talking was incessant, and sometimes so loud as to be quite deafening. There seemed to be a good deal of good-humoured badinage going on between the different members, principally on the ground of their respective political opinions, for those forming the Society are by no means agreed except on the question of Free Trade. After dinner we found that we were considered as the guests of the evening, for M. Say introduced us formally to the company, in very kind and complimentary terms, and said that though there was a question of great public importance appointed for discussion that evening, viz.—the principle of Government assistance to labour, etc.—yet he would propose that it should

be postponed in order to give place to the consideration of the Peace Congress in Paris. This proposal was assented to by acclamation. M. Say then stated the question with remarkable clearness and simple dignity. After which M. Victor Lefranc, a member of the Assembly, spoke with uncommon fervour in favour of our object, but insisted on the extension of free trade as the best means of establishing permanent and universal peace. After him followed several others, all of whom seemed to express themselves with the utmost readiness and fluency—M. Bastiat, among others, with less of animation and fire than Lefranc, but apparently with great clearness and earnestness. He declared himself strongly in favour of our object. They requested us to expound to them a little more fully the nature of our project, and of the means we proposed to employ. Mr. Burritt having devolved this duty upon me, I endeavoured to lay the matter before them as lucidly and briefly as possible. They listened with the closest attention, several of them rising from their seats and standing round me; and when I had done, though I suspect many of them very imperfectly apprehended what I said, their courtesy induced them to applaud vociferously. The discussion was then resumed with unflagging interest and vivacity; after which M. Say summed up the whole by assuring us, on behalf of the company, of their liveliest and heartiest sympathy with our object, and though they differed in opinion in regard to some of the propositions mentioned by us, they would render us every assistance in their power at the Congress, and would appoint some of their body to form part of the Committee of Organisation. They advised us, however, not to have too many free traders, otherwise it would be regarded as a free trade demonstration, which would thereby lose much of its impressiveness and influence. Before leaving the table, they all stood up and drank our health with great cordiality.

July 15.—At eleven we proceeded to the Hôtel des Affaires Étrangères, in the Boulevard des Capucines, where we met Mr. Sumner. We were introduced into a fine and spacious room, looking out into a pleasant garden. It was the reception room of the Foreign Secretary. What strange and sudden changes has it recently witnessed! There, eighteen months ago, stood Guizot, leaning (as we were told was his customary attitude) against the mantel-shelf over

the fire-place, laying down the law with that imperturbable self-confidence which was, perhaps, the main cause of his fall. There Lamartine, on his accession to the Foreign Ministry, found that scrap of paper respecting himself just written by Guizot, to the effect that the more he heard Lamartine the less possible did it seem that they should ever understand each other; and there the poet-statesman enjoyed his brief and brilliant period of office, only to give place to several others, who have since occupied it in succession.

After some delay, M. de Tocqueville entered from the garden. He is a small, dark man, with a grave, intelligent countenance. He told us he could understand English perfectly, but would prefer speaking in French if we could comprehend him. I stated to him at some length the nature and history of the Peace Movement, together with the object of our visit to Paris; and added that it had afforded sincere satisfaction to the friends of peace in England when they heard of his being raised to the distinguished position which he now occupied; that they felt this was a strong additional guarantee for the preservation of the peace of Europe; and that the declarations he had since made in the Assembly had amply confirmed their expectations. He thanked us for the too flattering manner in which we had spoken of himself. As to the object of our meeting, he said there was in France, with the exception of a small fraction, but one voice on the great question of peace; but one desire, and that in its favour. But as to the possibility of speedily realising that desire, there were differences of opinion, and he himself, although wishing and hoping, yet feared that the time of universal peace was far off. He was delighted to hear what we said of the sentiment of the people of England towards France. It served to confirm and strengthen his own convictions, and he was glad to say that a reciprocal sentiment existed among the French people. It was wrong to regard the French people, as such, as ever anxious for foreign war. The peasants desired to remain in their villages and by their firesides, and the best proof of the absence of the military spirit may be found in the fact that, after the expiration of the term of conscription service, it is very difficult, notwithstanding the advantages offered, to secure any re-engagement of soldiers. He had observed especially this trait in the African army, perhaps the most warlike in the world. Not only common soldiers, but officers, who

were in course of promotion, and might look forward to a military life as a profession, preferred to return to their native villages, and to become cultivators of the soil, rather than remain in the army after their term was expired.

He had heard of the Congress of Brussels, and cordially approved of such demonstrations, and he did not apprehend there would be any objection on the part of the French Government to the proposed meeting here. He alluded to the danger there was of producing excitement by allusion to contemporaneous events. We assured him that our movement was moral and not political; that it was not intended to hold what is usually called a public meeting, but that none should be permitted to take part but recognised delegates, who had given their adhesion to a certain principle, and that the utmost care would be observed to abstain from all comment or reference to actual political events. We named to him some of the gentlemen who had given their adhesion to the movement, and he expressed himself gratified with the success we had obtained. He would speak to the Minister of the Interior, to whose province it more immediately belonged, and see that the necessary arrangements were made. He then addressed to us some very kind words of encouragement, and said that if we did not receive so much sympathy in France as we could desire, we must not ascribe it to their coldness or indifference to our object, but to their doubts as to the practicability of the means proposed for its attainment.

July 20.—Having received a letter from M. Dufaure, the Minister of the Interior, appointing an audience with him to-day at nine o'clock, we went to his Hôtel at that hour, accompanied by Messrs. Garnier and Sumner. We were in great anxiety, excited principally by the hesitating tone of M. de Tracy on the preceding day, and the gloomy prognostications of our friends in England. The whole enterprise seemed to turn on this interview, and we had time enough to revolve all sorts of apprehensions in our minds, which grow with surprising rapidity in such moments of excitement, for the Minister kept us waiting nearly an hour beyond the time named. At length we were introduced into his cabinet. M. Dufaure is a dark, grave-looking man, by no means so accessible and affable as his colleague in the Foreign Ministry. M. Garnier explained briefly and clearly the nature of our mission, and the ground of our

application to the Government. He asked several questions, and when they were answered, and a copy of the programme was handed to him, he seemed perfectly satisfied. He said that he was quite in sympathy with the idea, that he welcomed so good a demonstration, and that he was entirely disposed to accord the authorisation, when he should have known the names of some members of the committee. M. Garnier named MM. Bouvet, Michel Chevalier, Coquerel, Larochefoucauld, Horace Say, and others. The Minister replied that those names inspired full confidence. If we wrote to him, he added, he would transmit the authorisation to us in writing.

July 20.—From M. Dufaure we proceeded to M. de Tocqueville, to breakfast. We were received by Madame de Tocqueville, who is an English lady, with the utmost simplicity and kindness. It was quite a family breakfast, there being no one else present but the members of the family. Nothing could exceed the quiet, easy, unpretending affability with which we were received by them all. M. de Tocqueville himself talked with us as freely and openly as though we belonged to his domestic circle. I sat next to Madame, who presided over the breakfast-table with all the quiet dignity and grace of a true English lady. A dish of mashed potatoes placed on the table gave rise to a half-humorous controversy as to the value of the potato as an article of food.

Madame and a brother of M. de Tocqueville took the defensive side, and Mr. Sumner and the Chef du Cabinet, or private secretary of the Minister, the other side. For my part, I was so happy as to chime in with Madame de Tocqueville in vindicating the virtues of the calumniated potato, and adduced, as a proof of its nutritive qualities, the fact that the Irish almost lived upon it, and that, when they had it in abundance, no people on earth thrived more than they did, or acquired a more hardy and robust habit of body. Madame triumphantly called the attention of the adversary to my argument, and begged me to repeat it again, which I did, and then the discussion was laughingly renewed, with additional animation. After breakfast we retired to the splendid drawing, or reception, room, where we drew cosily and comfortably around the fire, and were soon joined by M. Gustave de Beaumont, M. de Tocqueville's particular and intimate friend. The conversation having turned on Ireland, I endeavoured to explain to them the Bill before Parliament for the

sale of mortgaged estates, to which they seemed to listen with great interest. After which M. de Beaumont said, with a smile, that the English Government were acting on the principle of the Socialists. We then talked of the Congress, and Madame de Tocqueville told us we must make converts of her brother-in-law and M. de Beaumont, and promised to use her own influence on our behalf. After a while M. de Tocqueville apologised for being under the necessity of withdrawing to attend the Council, and retired with his friend M. Beaumont. We stayed half an hour longer with Madame de Tocqueville, who, when we were taking our leave, earnestly expressed her hope that we should come to see them whenever we visited Paris.

July 27th.—Called, with M. Garnier and M. Bouvet, on M. Arago, at the Observatoire, where this celebrated man resides. While waiting in the ante-room we saw some enormous telescopes, of immense length and calibre, which Garnier very happily called "scientific cannon." After waiting a short time M. Arago appeared. He is a tall large man, with a stern intellectual face, and thick bushy eyebrows. We were grieved to see him in a condition of extreme debility and apparent suffering. The exhausting philosophical studies in which he has been so long and so severely engaged, coupled with the intense labour and excitement through which he, in common with the other members of the Provisional Government, had to pass during the Revolution, seemed to have done their work upon him. He received us courteously, and conducted us with feeble steps and languid gait to his study, where he listened to our statement with a degree of patience and attention which evidently cost him a great effort. He told us that the state of his health utterly forbade his taking any part in our movement, and that he was so weak as hardly to be able to follow the explanation we had given. He added that when the Revolution broke out he was ill, but that Lamartine had almost compelled him to accompany him to the Hôtel de Ville and take part in the Provisional Government. Garnier urged him, so far as was proper, to grant us the use of his name; but he seemed reluctant, and promised to write to us; and under the circumstances it was impossible to press him. He is a great wreck, and I shall not soon forget his image—that upright but tottering form, about which his clothes hung loosely

and slovenly, and that furrowed face, "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

August 13th.—Proceeded to M. Carnot [father of the present President of the Republic], whom we saw for the first time. He is the son of the great Carnot who organised so many armies under the first Republic, and whose son we wished to enlist in our efforts to organise peace. He was the Minister of Public Instruction under the Provisional Government. In that capacity he issued a circular, which brought upon him much, and seemingly very undeserved, reproach; the so-called friends of order believing, or affecting to believe, that it was dangerous and ultra-revolutionary in its tendency. He is a short man, with a mild and benignant expression. He received us with great courtesy, and while candidly confessing his inability to go the full length of condemning all war absolutely, he assured us, in the strongest manner, that he fully sympathised with our aspirations and efforts to bring this barbarous usage to an end. He added that he was going to leave Paris for a few days, but hoped to return in time to attend the Congress.

Other public men promised their co-operation, but Mr. Richard soon found reason to reduce his estimate of the value of their professions. Together with his colleagues, he called upon the principal editors of the Paris press, who one and all engaged to back them up, but were, for the most part, slow to give the requisite publicity to the preparations that were being made for the Congress. Great difficulties also arose from ecclesiastical jealousies, the Evangelical pastors, in particular, being timid and loth to co-operate with other sections. Among the most earnest of the clergy was the Abbé Duguerry, of the Madeleine, who received the permission of the Archbishop of Paris to take a prominent part in the Congress. Up to the last moment there was much cause for anxiety, which, happily, the result did not justify.

CHAPTER V.

THE PEACE CONGRESSES OF PARIS AND FRANKFORT.

THE present generation has little idea of the profound interest and sanguine hopes created by the series of Peace Congresses of more than forty years ago. That of Brussels was unexpectedly successful, but the Congress of Paris surpassed all expectation, although the time of the year (August), many cordial friends being away from the capital, was not favourable. The untiring energy of Messrs. Richard and Burritt in the work of preparation had borne substantial fruit. They had been greatly perplexed in the choice of a Chairman; the Archbishop of Paris having, with the expression of much sympathetic feeling, reluctantly declined on the score of ill-health; and the Duc de Broglie refraining with diplomatic caution, but scant courtesy, to notice any of the communications sent to him. Victor Hugo was at length induced to accept the responsibility, and entirely justified the choice. The Congress assembled on August 22, 1849, in the Salle St. Cécile, a spacious concert-room which was elegantly decorated, and graced with the presence of many ladies, Friends in particular, who occupied the galleries. Some seven hundred delegates from England and America were present, whose conveyance from London to Paris greatly taxed

the organising capacity of the Peace Congress Committee, while the cheap fares attracted not a few who preferred pleasure to business. Nearly all went over in a body on the preceding day, and were distributed among the various hotels of the French capital; and, of course, there were current many amusing stories of misadventure amongst so great a body of visitors. When the proceedings opened on the 22nd, the various contingents of Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, of whom there were a large body, Germans, and Italians presented a unique spectacle. Mr. Cobden was there, and his presence excited profound interest; and amongst those who were also received with cordial applause were Mr. Ewart, M.P., Mr. Hindley, M.P., M. Bouvet, M. Horace Say, M. Michel Chevalier, and Mr. Sturge. The Chairman was supported by several Vice-Presidents —M. Coquerel and M. Duguerry for the French, M. Visschers for Belgium, M. Suringar for Holland, and Dr. Carosie for Germany, while the Hon. Mr. Durkee and Mr. Amasa Walker represented the United States. The Secretaries were—Mr. Richard for England, MM. Garnier and Ziegler for France, and Mr. Burritt for the United States.

M. Victor Hugo opened the proceedings with one of his impassioned speeches, in the course of which he prophesied that a day would come "when bullets and shells would be replaced by votes, by the universal suffrage of nations, by the venerable arbitration of a great Sovereign Senate; when a cannon would be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of

torture is now, and people would be astonished how such a thing could have been; when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, would be seen extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their produce, their commerce, their arts, their genius, peopling the deserts, and uniting, for the good of all, "these two irresistible and infinite powers—the fraternity of men and the power of God." And the President concluded by saying: "In our ancient Europe, England took the first step, declaring to the people, 'You are free;' France took the second step, and announced to the people, 'You are sovereigns;' let us now take the third step, and all simultaneously—France, England, Germany, Italy, Europe, America—let us proclaim to all nations, 'You are brothers!'" The sonorous rhetoric of M. Hugo did express in its way the pervading goodwill of the French people; nor did the "man of destiny," who was probably revolving at the Elysée his plot against the liberty of the nation, give any sign of disapproval of the pacific demonstration that was taking place within a stone's-throw of his palace. Indeed, his name never seems to have been mentioned in relation to the subject. He seems simply to have acquiesced in everything.*

The Congress was well sustained throughout, and the attendance and enthusiasm on the third day were, if

* "He began to conspire," says M. de Tocqueville (*Correspondence and Conversations*), "from November 10, 1848. His direct instructions to Oudinot, and his letter to Ney, only a few months after his election, showed his determination not to submit to Parliamentary Government. Then followed his dismissal of Ministry after Ministry, until he had degraded the office to a clerkship."

possible, greater than on the first. Amongst the speakers, in addition to those whose names have been already given—including Mr. Cobden, who spoke in French, but to please his American friends had to repeat the substance in English—were the Rev. John Burnet, Mr. Henry Vincent, M. Bastiat, Dr. Bodenstedt, Mr. Edward Miall, President Mauan, and the Rev. Mr. Pennington, an escaped slave, who, on sitting down, received a cordial shake of the hand from the Chairman, from M. Duguerry, and from M. Coquerel. Amongst other public men, Beranger, the poet, who was prevented by illness from being present, sent a letter giving his hearty adhesion to the cause. At the close of the third sitting Mr. Cobden led off with three times three cheers, in which the French delegates cordially joined. The resolutions adopted by the Congress were substantially the same as those passed at Brussels, including a strong one protesting against war loans and taxes. The French Government throughout was very friendly. M. Dufaure, the Minister of the Interior, a very cautious statesman, not only sanctioned the Congress—Paris being then in a state of siege—but allowed the Peace party to pass on from Boulogne without passports and the customary inspection of luggage. Every public place was made free to members of the Congress, while M. de Tocqueville gave a splendid entertainment to the delegates at the Hôtel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at which eminent Frenchmen and ladies, many of the foreign ambassadors, and distinguished members of the Government were present, and the leading orators of

the Congress received marked attention. Amid the dazzling display of beauty and fashion were often visible the plain garb of the Quaker and the winning features of the Quakeress. The gardens were illuminated, and a band of music was in attendance. This was on the Saturday. On the Monday the grand waterworks of Versailles were set going in honour of the visitors—a course never taken on any day but Sunday, except for crowned heads. It was also stated that the Archbishop of Paris would have attended the Congress, and given a soirée in honour of the occasion, but for the infirm state of his health. Nearly all the Paris newspapers rejoiced in this Peace manifestation as a good omen for the future, and almost forgot their customary criticism and sarcasms. Mr. Richard, therefore, was in a very grateful mood, ready to exclaim, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." Some months of labour and anxiety had been followed by an ample recompense. Not the least weighty fact connected with the Congress was the letter of Mr. Samuel Gurney, the Treasurer of the Committee, in which he, as a financier, expressed a confident belief that, unless England wholly altered her course in respect to her military establishments and policy, bankruptcy would ultimately be the result, and loan-mongers would lose their money: a letter which Mr. Cobden regarded as likely to produce more effect on the minds of statesmen than all the appeals the Peace Society had ever made.

Soon after his return from Paris, Mr. Richard received substantial proof of the estimation in which his

laborious services were held by admiring friends, in the shape of a cheque for £1,000, and a very handsomely bound family Bible, with the following inscription:—

THIS SACRED VOLUME

IS PRESENTED TO

HENRY RICHARD, SECRETARY OF THE PEACE SOCIETY,

As part of a Testimonial which a few of his Friends,
Whose names are recorded below,
Request he will accept as a proof of their sincere personal esteem and regard,
And as a token of their high appreciation of his devoted and persevering public labours to advance the great cause of

PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL PEACE.

The names of the subscribers were attached as follows:—

G. W. Alexander.
Robert Alsop.
Frederick Ashby.
Richard Allen.
John Bright.
Samuel Bowley.
J. D. Bassett.
J. Gurney Barclay.
James Bell.
Eliza Bell.
Anna Bell.
R. J. Bendall.
Joseph Barrett.
James Clark.
Joseph Cooper.
Richard Cobden.
Robert Charlton.
W. H. Darby.
Joseph Eaton.
Samuel Gurney.
H. Edmund Gurney.
Charles Gilpin.
Alexander Good.
Thomas Harvey.
Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.
John Jones.
Samuel Morley.
John Morland.
Thomas Morland.
Joseph Marsh.
John Pease.
Joseph Pease.
John Priestman.
Samuel Rosling.
Alfred Rosling.
Joseph Sturge.
Edmund Sturge.
Charles Sturge.
Edward Smith.
Henry Sterry.
John Wigham, Junr.
George Thomas.

It was not long before the cordial speeches of the French statesmen and publicists at the Paris Congress found an echo on this side the Channel. There were great what may be called ratification meetings at Birmingham, Manchester, and in Exeter Hall. At the London meeting sympathetic letters were read from Victor Hugo and Lamartine; and the cordial words of the latter were received with tumultuous applause. Mr. Cobden spoke with singular fervour, condemning the intervention of nations in each other's affairs—an indirect reference to the occupation of Rome by the French; and the assembly, it was said, was so enthusiastic as to suggest that it was proposed "to fight with all the world in order to promote universal peace." The speakers on the occasion also included MM. Horace Say, Bastiat, and Garnier. There was a similar outburst at the Manchester meeting when Mr. Bright, after the reference to the eminent French adherents of the Congress, exclaimed:—"These are the Frenchmen whom you are told to regard as your natural enemies. (Shame, shame.) Will you make war against them? (Never, never.) Do you regard them as brothers? (Aye, aye.)" At his suggestion three times three tremendous cheers were given in honour of France. As we are not proposing to write a history of the Peace movement, it may suffice briefly to state that by public meetings, publications, wide correspondence, and the formation of local committees, the question was kept prominently before the country; that the Peace Congress Fund had now reached more than £4,000; that

the issue of tracts was unprecedented; and that very extensive preparations were made to support Mr. Cobden in the repetition of his motion in favour of arbitration and mutual and simultaneous disarmament.

It had long been determined that the next Peace Congress should be held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, nominally a free city, the commercial and financial centre of Germany, and the seat of the Confederation. Messrs. Richard and Burritt started on a preliminary mission to that city about Midsummer, 1850. Some little time before doing so, Mr. Richard felt it necessary to retire from his pastorate, a step which many of his friends had felt to be inevitable. Indeed, he had in the preceding autumn sent in his resignation to the Church at Marlborough Chapel, mainly on the ground that his outside public labours absorbed more and more time. In the most cordial manner his people requested him to take a holiday, and not to think of retiring from a charge in which his spiritual services were so heartily appreciated. But as the summer of 1850 drew near, the prospect of another lengthened visit to the Continent obliged him definitely to announce his intention of vacating the pastoral office, and on the 19th of June there was a meeting of the Church and Congregation to bid him farewell. Mr. Richard was presented with a purse of gold, and a copy of the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," in thirty volumes, handsomely bound in russia, and containing an inscription, from which the following is a quotation:—

"To the Rev. Henry Richard, these volumes are presented as a

memorial of the esteem and affection of the Church and Congregation assembling in Marlborough Chapel, London, over which he has presided during the period of fifteen years—as a testimony of their high regard for his personal worth and ministerial usefulness; as a humble acknowledgment of the benefits they have received, in being encouraged by his earnest and eloquent persuasion and consistent example, in the love of all that is manly and vigorous in thought and virtuous in action; but above all, as an expression of sincere gratitude for the faithfulness and affection with which, for so long a period, he has declared the whole counsel of God."

The inscription was signed by Mr. Henry Wood, one of the deacons, and chairman of the meeting. Mr. Richard, in cordially thanking his friends for their kindness, and expressions of affectionate attachment, reviewed their relations during the fifteen years of his ministry. He said that a debt of nearly £2,000 had been cleared off, two handsome Sunday schools and a vestry erected, British schools established in the neighbourhood for some four hundred children, and a number of benevolent institutions vigorously carried on. They had an increasing church, several hundreds having been admitted during his ministry. From the remarks subsequently made by friends present, who warmly expressed their gratitude and affection to Mr. Richard, it appeared that these various objects had been materially assisted by the liberality and self-denial of the pastor, who, besides personal contributions, had allowed the whole interest on the debt, and the deficiency on incidental expenses, to be paid out of his salary. The meeting was most enthusiastic throughout, and Mr. Richard was requested to pay them a visit on his return from the Continent, and to give them some

account of the progress of the cause he had so much at heart. When the open-handedness of Mr. Richard in pecuniary matters is remembered, it is probable that his congregation, in one shape or another, largely shared the liberality of his Peace friends.

Of the journey of Messrs. Richard and Burritt to Germany there are abundant notes, far too copious to be quoted at any length in these pages. In describing them it is to be remembered that the evil of condensation in such a case is that much of the spirit of the original is apt to evaporate. The travellers first proceeded to Paris, where they met not a few old friends, such as M. Hugo, M. Garnier, M. Lacau, M. Coquerel, M. Cormenin ("Timon"), and M. Say, who had a reception in their honour, and it is now remembered that M. de Lesseps, the great engineer, was of the party. All promised to help in sending a good delegation to Frankfort, but several expressed uneasiness about the political prospects of their country; the Dotation Bill being under discussion in the Assembly, which was showing a decided retrograde tendency. M. Cormenin divided his countrymen into three classes—the aristocrats, composed of the Services and functionaries; the bourgeoisie, selfish and regardless only of material interests; and the Socialists, who wanted to push things to extremities. The prospects of maintaining peace he considered gloomy, and he proved a true prophet. While in Paris Mr. Richard took occasion to call upon the Misses Farley, who were at school at Mont Parnope, whose family attended his ministry at Marlborough

Chapel, and to whom reference will hereafter have to be made.

On their way to Brussels the deputation passed through Flanders—"the cockpit of Europe"—with its fortified towns, and in that city they were met by their steadfast friend, M. Visschers, who got together the Peace Committee and promised a large contingent to Frankfort. One sign of progress in Belgium was a recent debate in the Chamber on the motion of M. de Percival for a large reduction of the army, which received 37 out of 108 votes, all the minority being re-elected at the subsequent election. A flying visit was paid to Antwerp, the travellers passing through Vilvorde, where Tyndal, the translator of the Bible into English, was, in 1536, first strangled and then burned. They reached Cologne on June 29th, after passing Louvain, once a great centre of learning, now celebrated for its bell foundries; Maestricht, which, being a strong fortress, had endured numerous sieges; and Aix-la-Chapelle, where Charlemagne reigned and died. Mr. Richard was compensated for the odours of Cologne by his first view of the Rhine. "Before retiring to rest," he says, "I leaned over the parapet, wrapped in a sort of dreamy excitement at finding myself on the brink of this noble stream, so consecrated by song that it seemed to imagination almost like a river of fairy-land." Early next morning they were on its broad bosom, but were greatly disappointed till they came to where

> The castled crag of Drachenfels
> Frowns o'er the wide and winding Rhine.

The wonderful panorama, which delights the eye and exalts the imagination, so fraught with natural and historical interest, and lasting for a dozen hours till the lofty towers of Mayence Cathedral appear in the foreground, is vividly described, and is familiar to every continental tourist. It was late in the evening when Frankfort was reached by the railway from Biebrich. The Hôtel d'Angleterre was filled—the Duchess of Kent and suite occupying much of it—and they found quarters at the Hôtel de Russie. A day's rest was needed, and enabled Mr. Richard and Mr. Burritt to make necessary preparations and visit the city. It was at Frankfort that the German Emperors were crowned, and that Luther preached to the people on his return from the Diet of Worms. It was also the birthplace of the poet Goethe, and of the Rothschild family. In this city, also, Prince Bismarck, already known for his violent speeches in the Prussian Diet against the democracy, commenced his diplomatic career eighteen months after Mr. Richard's visit.

More than fifty years ago it was decided to destroy the fortifications which encircled Frankfort and convert them into public gardens, which have ever since been delightful promenades for the citizens. Pastor Bonnet, of the French Protestant Church, was the first to welcome the deputation, and then Dr. Varrentrapp, chief medical officer of a large asylum, who proved to be an invaluable coadjutor. A great number of likely people were canvassed, a strong committee was formed, and the Senate was formally asked to allow the Congress to

be held, which was speedily granted. The Democrats were still powerful in Frankfort, and their violence of bearing and language frightened the rest of the citizens, and was a great hindrance to Mr. Richard's work. The Senate was then the governing body, and was not interfered with except either by Austria or Prussia, whose mutual jealousy was in favour of freedom. Still there was remarkable timidity among the respectable classes. On this subject Mr. Richard says :—

"Nothing can be worse in its effects on the character of the people of the Continent than the perpetual meddling of their Governments in all the affairs of life, and their consequent dependence upon political action as the means of social and national regeneration. We find the most painful and pitiful illustrations of this everywhere."

After things had been got into shape in Frankfort, and St. Paul's Church fixed upon as the place of meeting of the Congress, the deputation paid a visit to Heidelberg, on the banks of the Neckar—"a city," says Mr. Richard, "surrounded by a semicircle of mountains of the loftiest and grandest form, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, while the castle, at once a fortress and a palace, stands, in its vast proportions and picturesque grandeur, midway between the town and mountain top, which swells its huge bulk behind." Dr. Carosie, of the University, and Mr. Dana, an American, brother to the author of "Two Years before the Mast," accompanied them in their calls, and Mr. Richard inwardly resolved that an excursion to Heidelberg must form part of their programme. Professor Mittermayer, one of the most prominent movers in the Revolution of 1848, whom they

hoped to secure as president, could not be induced to give more than private help, for his political reputation was, he said, greatly damaged. Other professors, however, attached their names to the circular of invitation. Mannheim, which has stood many sieges, but whose ramparts are now levelled with the ground, was next visited, and the deputation then went on to Worms, of which, of course, Mr. Richard has much to say :—

At the memorable diet, where Luther was cited to appear before Charles V. in 1521, was transacted one of the greatest and sublimest scenes in the history of the world. A grander figure than that of the Reformer standing up in the midst of that vast array of worldly dignity and power, maintaining with meekness and moderation, but with noble and unswerving firmness, the great truths upon which the weal of the world so much depended, is not to be found in the record of ages. We stood as nearly as possible on the very spot where this occurred, the building in which it took place having been razed, except a portion of the wall. We then walked out to a little village called Pfiffligheim, about a mile and a half from Worms, near which a large elm tree is shown, beneath the shadow of which Luther rested on his way to the town, and where his friends attempted to dissuade him from proceeding, on account of the extreme danger to which he was exposed, which elicited from him the brave declaration "that he would go to Worms, even though there were as many devils within its walls as there were tiles on its houses." We sat under the tree musing on his memory, and I broke off two small twigs to bear with me as a memento of a spot so fraught with thrilling interest. These are scenes adapted to impart fresh inspiration to those who are engaged with devotion and courage in any great and arduous moral enterprise. The tree is very large, measuring, as far as we could ascertain by a somewhat rude measurement, between forty and fifty feet round.

On their return to Frankfort, great difficulties ensued as to the wording of the circular of invitation and the

programme, which were surmounted by the diplomatic skill of the Secretary. On the 12th of July the English deputation, accompanied by Mr. Visschers, started on a tour through North Germany. At the quaint old town of Giessen, where there is a celebrated university, they were struck with the queer costumes of the peasantry in the market, especially the head-gear of the women. They called upon Dr. Baur, the Professor of Theology, "full of cordial warmth and energy," and were delighted to wait upon Dr. Liebig, the illustrious Professor of Chemistry—since dead—then a middle-aged man, who received them with a quiet friendliness of manner, and promised to go to Frankfort to meet so many men of intelligence and humanity. He said that in the work on agricultural chemistry which he was passing through the press he had referred to the question of peace and war as it affected the material and commercial interests of nations. On their way to Cassel, the capital of Hesse Cassel, they passed the castle of the Landgrave of Hesse, where Luther discussed the question of transubstantiation with Zwingli. The fine buildings, monuments, and museums of this city were due to the wealth of the Elector Frederick, who, as the diarist remarks with horror, sold his Hessian troops to fight other people's battles, 12,000 of these mercenaries being used by us in the American War of Independence. Hard by is the palace and gardens of Wilhelmshöhe—the German Versailles—which Mr. Richard preferred to its French rival. It was here about twenty-one years later that Napoleon III. was for some weeks confined after the

overthrow at Sedan. On the Sunday, at Cassel, there was a procession of troops through the streets in their very striking and picturesque uniform, which provokes the remark, "what pains mankind are obliged to make to disguise the real aspect of war. What is all this display of glittering colours, burnished steel, waving plumes, and the thrilling tones of martial music, but an attempt to conceal from the eyes of the world the fact that 'war is a ruffian all with blood defiled?'" On their way to Halle the travellers passed Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar—

Near Eisenach we saw the castle of Wartburg, where Luther, being surprised by a company of armed knights on his return from Worms (which was a kind stratagem of his friend the Elector of Saxony), was concealed for ten months, under the pseudonym of Innker, *i.e.* Squire George, and where he translated part of the Bible, and wrote some of the most beautiful things that ever flowed from his pen. He must have enjoyed, occasionally, profound peace in the recollection of the calm strength and dignity which he had been enabled to display before the congregated powers and celebrities of Europe. And yet we know that it was a period also of fierce but courageous struggle, of which his hurling the inkstand at the devil's head was a significant and almost symbolical indication. Erfurt also is full of Luther. Here he dwelt when that wonderful change was effected in his own views and spiritual experience which led to such momentous results for himself and for the world. There are few spots on the face of the earth that I should have more liked to have stood upon than Luther's cell still shown at Erfurt, and which is preserved in precisely the same condition as it was when occupied by him 350 years ago. But I was denied this gratification, as our arrangements would not permit us to stay at Erfurt. And Weimar, where Goethe and Schiller, and Weiland and Herder, formed so brilliant a constellation around the Court of the Grand Duke, made my heart beat quicker as I drew nigh to it, and I gazed earnestly and long upon every spot I could see around the city, consecrated for ever by

the footprints of genius and learning. The country through which we passed abounds also with military reminiscences. Jena, where the Prussians suffered so disastrous a defeat in 1806, and Lutzen, where the French and Russians fought so fiercely in 1813, are in this neighbourhood.

At Halle they visited Dr. Tholuck, "a thin and sallow man, with a manner much more quiet and grave than the majority of his countrymen," who was polite rather than cordial. Though he had to go to Bavaria, he would not give up the hope of being present at Frankfort. Next they saw Professor Ulrici, author of the well-known critical work on Shakespeare, who gave them a most genial welcome. On the 16th the deputation were at Leipsic, a handsome city, where they first called upon Tauchnitz, the great publisher of cheap books, but he not being at home, they met with much attention from one of his subordinates. A number of professors and others were seen, especially Dr. Hassel, who placed himself at their service, and Professor Linder, a venerable old man, who took them to his summer-house, where they enjoyed an hour's conversation over a cigar—evidently the first Mr. Richard had enjoyed for some time, for he breaks out into quite a glowing eulogy on the merits of the "fragrant weed." *

Many friends were secured at Leipsic, and Mr.

* It may be desirable to state here that Mr. Richard was temperate in all things, and was the slave of no habit except hard work. As a rule he smoked but little, and found no difficulty in foregoing the indulgence. Nor did he care for spirituous liquors, and when in later years he altogether abstained for a year or more, he was medically advised to be less rigid.

Richard tells the story of the celebrated Dr. Blum, of that city, the leader of the democratic party, who was afterwards infamously shot at Vienna. On July 17 they reached Dresden, where Dr. Langen, the President of the Court of Appeal, and tutor of the Crown Prince of Saxony, gave them a cordial reception and much help, though official duties would prevent him going to Frankfort. But to a large extent the response received was "Gone to the Baths." Here from the Terrace of Bruhl they caught sight of the Elbe, which, like the Rhine, has its interesting traditions, and here also they saw the grand collection of costly objects at the "Green Vault;" a royal palace, in which were stored "articles of gold and silver wrought into every form of beauty and grace, crystal vases and large alabaster vessels of exquisite workmanship, pearls and diamonds in exuberance, and glistening with splendour," that seemed to recall the "Arabian Nights Entertainments." They visited also the renowned picture gallery. The country from Leipsic to Berlin is a dismal plain of sand. The Prussian capital is a fine city, with its huge royal palace, its rare cluster of splendid buildings, its historic Linden, where by some miserable accident two years previously a terrible massacre occurred. Everything had a military tinge—"indeed, the entire city and the whole Kingdom of Prussia bears the hard iron impress of that bad man called Frederick the Great." Dr. Bodenstedt, who had been at the Paris Congress, was out of town, but other gentlemen were enlisted in the Peace cause, including a few editors, one of whom

ascribed present perplexities to the feebleness and vacillation of the King (Frederick William), who was, however, a man of good intentions and large acquirements, and personally very estimable. The deputation inspected the great prison, the Musterstrafanstalt, of which a full account is given. At the house of a doctor they found a wedding being celebrated by a large party, and were about to retire when the professor and his son, in a jovial mood, insisted on their joining the company in the garden, and sharing their hospitality. "We were not," says Mr. Richard, "sorry to gain this insight into the bosom of a German family on so interesting an occasion. It was a reviving sight to two dusty and travelled bachelors, so far removed from all the amenities of domestic life." Next day being Sunday, they went in the morning to the small Chaplaincy Church, and in the evening watched the animated, but not noisy, scenes of gaiety on the Linden, and the writer goes on to remark: "It is rather curious that in no other country, not even in Protestant Germany or Switzerland, has there ever prevailed such rigid notions about the Sabbath as in England. Our more austere system is not the offspring of the Reformation, but of Puritanism. Is it the offspring of Christianity?" Mr. Richard, however, was, as we gather from his diary, always troubled when necessity prevented him from attending divine worship when abroad, and thankful when the rest and retirement of the Lord's day could be secured for spiritual refreshment. Subsequently they had a long talk with Mr. Prince Smith, who explained

to them the political constitution and social condition of Prussia, and stated that the democratic party, of whom they all seemed so terribly afraid, consisted of the artisans and small tradespeople, and the large number of poor educated men, such as artists, writers, and teachers, who were formidable from their intelligence and activity. Next day (Monday) they had an interview with Baron von Humboldt—

Started early for Potsdam (about fifteen miles from Berlin), our principal object being to see Baron von Humboldt, beyond all rivalry the most celebrated of living Germans. He has a suite of apartments in the King's Palace, in the capacity of Chamberlain. Every day he dines with the King, who is very fond of his society, never, however, talking with him on politics; Humboldt's views being too liberal for the royal taste. On sending in our cards we were instantly introduced into a plainly-furnished apartment, and received by the venerable old man with a smiling countenance and the frankest cordiality of manner. He expected our visit; Mr. Notham, the Belgian Minister at Berlin, from whom M. Visschers had procured an introduction, having seen him on the preceding day, and announced our intention. After a few words from M. Visschers, he entered on the subject, and with great interest reviewed all the speculations and projects for universal peace from the time of Henry IV. to the present. The object, he said, was high and noble, "but I am," he said, "an old man, and have seen in my time a good many Congresses, and my experience does not lead me to anticipate any great results from them." He then proceeded to state, with great frankness, the difficulties and objections that occurred to him in connection with our movement. "However," he added, "I should be very sorry that you left me with the impression that I am opposed or indifferent to your noble enterprise. Far from it. My heart is entirely with you." He said that, though he was too old to go to Frankfort, he would write a letter to the Congress expressive of his sympathy, "in which," he said, with a smile, "I will make no mention of my objection." On being told that Mr. Burritt was an American, he expressed his great love and admiration for that country, and

said that he considered himself an American citizen, and adverted with evident pleasure to the time he had lived there, and the intercourse he had held with Jefferson and other great men. He then turned to the subject of slavery, and spoke with most earnest and emphatic reprobation of the disposition which has lately manifested itself in the United States to extend that evil system. As to the immediate abolition of slavery, he said, "I know there are formidable difficulties, but what grieves me is to see the resolute efforts made, in and out of the legislature, to extend that abominable system." At one point of the conversation he said, with, I am afraid, a sly quizzical twinkle gleaming very unmistakably in the corner of his eye, "I suppose you are going on from here to St. Petersburg, gentlemen?" Humboldt is a fine old man, with a splendid forehead, though it is somewhat exaggerated in the portraits of him which I have seen. He talked with great rapidity and animation, as one who enjoyed the pleasure of pouring out his own overflowing thoughts. There was something also, perhaps, of the old man's garrulity and fondness of dwelling on the scenes of his youth. He is not a good listener, but breaks in impatiently to take up himself the train of thought you have started. In going away, on our apologising for having detained him so long, he said, very kindly, "By no means, gentlemen; on the contrary, I feel much obliged to Mr. Notham for having procured me the pleasure of so agreeable an interview."

Mr. Richard and his companions visited Sans Souci and the New Palace, both built by Frederick the Great, and on their return to Berlin they had an interview with Professor Heffter, a Judge of the Court of Cassation, and author of a work on international law, whom they wished to secure as president, but whose engagements would not allow of his going to Frankfort. Later on they saw Professor Hengstenberg, author of the "Commentary on the Psalms," who turned out to be "a strong reactionary and a devout believer in armies." Hamburg was the next city visited;

and Mr. Richard greatly admired its architectural grandeur, especially the Jungfernstieg, enclosing the great basin of water formed by the River Alster, which, when lighted up at night, has a magnificent effect. Several eminent gentlemen of Hamburg and Altona upon whom they called gave in their adhesion, but Senator Schumacher could not be won over. There is an interesting account of a visit to the celebrated Rauhehaus, a kind of reformatory on a large scale, carried on by M. Wichern (since dead), which sends trained teachers all over Germany. Eighty per cent. of the inmates turn out well. It is entirely supported by voluntary contributions. The visit to Hanover and Minden was not noteworthy, and on July 27th the travellers were at their old quarters in Cologne, where it was necessary to make preliminary arrangements for lodging for one night the English and American contingent, which was eventually swollen to more than 500 persons. On returning to Frankfort Mr. Richard was rejoiced to find that the local committee had been working with singular zeal and judgment.

Mr. Burritt and himself had not, however, completed their missionary work, and on the 7th of August they set out for Bavaria. At the hotel in Nuremberg the landlord was greatly alarmed by the distribution of bills announcing that an address was to be delivered there by "the Peace Apostle," and feared a visit from the police. He could not be convinced of his mistake, but had a man at the door to prevent people from coming in. In the end the deputation did receive

several friends, but "in their bedroom." They were told there, as they had been assured in other parts of Germany, that national unity and consolidation could only be attained by fighting it out. On their way to Augsburg they were struck with the great number of neat-looking villages which they passed, and the grotesque head-dress of the peasantry—the men wearing beaver hats with no brim behind, but a projecting one in front, and the women a huge straw bonnet like an inverted coal-scuttle. In this city a visit was paid to the old Episcopal Palace, where Luther and Melanchthon presented the celebrated Confession of Augsburg to the Emperor Charles V. Munich they regarded as the finest city they had seen in Germany, its splendour being due to the munificence of the late King Ludwig, who showed admirable taste in everything but his insane passion for Lola Montes, which was the immediate cause of his downfall. Among the university professors visited was Dr. Döllinger—"a very able and clear-headed man"—whose eightieth birthday was celebrated this spring throughout the Fatherland. The revered professor defended the necessity of standing armies to suppress political disaffection. At Ulm they took a hasty view of the fine old Gothic cathedral, and passed through a most romantic gorge in the mountains to Stuttgart, the capital of Wurtemburg, but could not make much of the gentlemen waited upon, "because of their unbelief." A steamer conveyed them on the beautiful Neckar to Heidelberg, and by rail they returned to Frankfort, where they found the pressure of

business great, in consequence of the magnitude of the party coming from England.

Mr. Richard now had his hands full. It was necessary to get permission from the Belgian and Prussian Governments for the delegates to pass through without passports and the examination of luggage, which was granted; to pay a hasty visit to Darmstadt to secure Herr Jaup, the late Prime Minister, as President of the Congress; to find lodgings for the huge contingent of visitors from London in Frankfort and neighbourhood; and to engage two steamers from Cologne and special trains from Biebrich. More anxiety was, however, felt as to the drafting of the resolutions—for it was only two days before the Congress was to meet. Mr. Cobden, M. Garnier, M. de Cormenin, Herr Jaup, and others had arrived, and with Dr. Varrentrapp and the other members of the local committee, had two sittings to discuss the programme. The tug of war took place on the question of disarmament, most of the Germans insisting on the necessity of armies to preserve order, while Mr. Richard and Mr. Burritt "had to protect from compromise the Quaker principle adverse to the use of armed force for any purpose," and contended that the phraseology referred only to "international" armaments. The clause was, however, recast at the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, though in a form which Mr. Richard feared would not be acceptable to the rigid Quakers. There were other critical discussions which the skill, firmness, and conciliatory spirit of Mr. Cobden helped to smooth over; and in the end the diarist was

"unspeakably relieved and thankful" at having safely steered through the formidable difficulties which they knew would beset them at Frankfort. On the 21st of August, all the preparations in that city having been perfected, Mr. Richard and Mr. Burritt proceeded down the Rhine as far as St. Goar, in order to meet the first steamer coming from Cologne, having probably done as much by their laborious efforts in the north of Germany during the preceding two months to promote the cause of Peace as the Frankfort Congress itself.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FRANKFORT AND LONDON CONGRESSES.

The Peace Congress at Frankfort in 1850 was the third and last of the continental series. It was also, in some respects, the most attractive. At least five hundred persons, not a few of them ladies, started from London on the afternoon of the 21st of August for Dover, where they embarked for Calais. From thence they proceeded by special train through the night, breakfasting at Verviers, and reaching Cologne late on the following evening, where beds had been provided for all at the various hotels and elsewhere. Very early next morning the journey was resumed up the Rhine in two commodious steamers. The present writer, who was one of the delegates, will not easily forget the high spirits of the company, nor the cheers that greeted Messrs. Richard and Burritt when they came on board at St. Goar to welcome the travellers and give them the requisite papers and directions. So complete were the arrangements, that every one of this great host of delegates found his resting-place soon after the special train from Biebrich deposited them at Frankfort. Their arrival created much good-natured excitement in the city, which did not subside till their

departure.* The kindness of the Frankfort Lutheran Consistory enabled the Congress to hold its sittings in St. Paul's Church—a grand and spacious edifice, dear to German hearts from having been, two years before, the meeting-place of their short-lived National Assembly. The building, which is of semicircular form, holds some 3,000 persons, and was newly fitted up and decorated with flags.

When Councillor Jaup took the chair on the morning of August 22nd the scene was very striking—the delegates, French, Germans, Belgians, and English, with a large contingent from the United States, filling the seats on the floor, and the galleries being crowded with visitors of both sexes; the most notable on one of the days being General Haynau, the "Austrian butcher," of Barclay and Perkins notoriety, to whose presence Mr. Cobden made a pointed allusion in one of his speeches. Haynau was staying at an hotel there, and was described as a tall man, with an aspect not prepossessing, and a pair of white moustaches extending to his shoulders. Many of the distinguished foreigners who were at Paris—such as MM. Girardin, Cormenin, Garnier, and Visschers—appeared at Frankfort, but there was a lack of German speakers,† though many

* On the last evening there happened to be a performance of *Don Giovanni* at the theatre, and several of the English delegates occupied a box. The principal actor dexterously interpolated some words of a playful and sarcastic nature, turning towards the strangers, who became "the observed of all observers," and the objects of a friendly cheer.

† The remark of a German professor on his return from Frankfort is worth quoting. "I went into St. Paul's Church," he said, "a Saul, and came out a Paul."

eminent men sent cordial letters, including Baron Humboldt, who, amongst other things, said that "the whole history of the past shows that, under the protection of a Superior Power, a long-nourished yearning after a noble aim in the life of nations will at length find its consummation." Many of the English speakers at Paris were conspicuous at Frankfort, Mr. Cobden being obliged to address his delighted auditors more than once amid tremendous cheers. In reference to the delusion that enormous military power must prevail against revolution, he said:—"In 1847 I went through all the Courts of Europe, with the exception of that of the Pope, and I found kings everywhere dressed in regimentals, their ante-rooms filled with soldiers, and their fortifications well replenished with troops. 1848 came, and all over the Continent thrones tumbled like a house of cards. I therefore can appeal to Governments and kings, as well as taxpayers and the people, to help a cause that will bless and benefit them all." In the preceding chapter reference was made to the anxious discussion in committee of the disarmament resolution. The following was the form in which, without demur, it was adopted by the Congress:—

"That the standing armaments with which the Governments of Europe menace one another impose intolerable burdens, and inflict grievous moral and social evils, upon their respective communities: This Congress, therefore, cannot too earnestly call the attention of Governments to the necessity of entering upon a system of international disarmament without prejudice to such measures as may be considered necessary for the maintenance of the security of the citizens, and of the internal tranquillity of each State."

Mr. Richard, at the third sitting, moved a vote of thanks to the Senate of Frankfort, the local committee, and the Lutheran Consistory, for their valued co-operation, and in doing so he asked his countrymen to give emphatic contradiction to the suspicion of their German brethren that they were the enemies of Germany—(prolonged cheers)—and to indicate that they desired to see Germany powerful, united, and free. [The entire English delegation rose and vehemently cheered this sentiment.]

Two other matters in connection with the Congress deserve to be mentioned.* A supplementary resolution, condemning the practice of duelling, was moved by M. Cormenin, who said that that was the first great assembly which, in the name of reason, religion, and morals, had condemned and excluded duellists. This was supported by M. Girardin, who killed M. Armand Carrel in a duel, and thus reverted to this painful reminiscence :—"I fought a fatal duel twenty years ago, and I still feel remorse for it at this moment. If we were to leave no other trace in Frankfort than this resolution, we might say we have done enough."

The second incident shows that the Peace movement was already exerting a practical moral influence on the Continent, which should have protected its supporters from such sneers as that they were "sentimentalists in

* The greater part of the members spent a very enjoyable day at Heidelberg, where they were conveyed by special train, and subsequently they visited Wiesbaden. They returned by the same route to England, holding a conversazione at Cologne before the long railway journey to Calais.

drab," and similar ribaldry. At the last day's sitting Dr. Bodenstedt appeared in the tribune with a memorial signed by the leading members of the Constitutional Party in Frankfort, as well as by the ambassador of Schleswig-Holstein, entreating the Congress to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into the matters at issue between Denmark and the Duchies, with a view to bring to a close the sanguinary and unnatural war between them. He had not proceeded far with his earnest address—in the course of which he pleaded for such an expression of opinion as "could not fail to have a mighty influence upon Europe, and perhaps in the end promote peace"—when the President, though sharing the Doctor's opinions, felt it necessary to point out that, by the standing order, "present political views" could not be discussed. Mr. Cobden, in some sympathetic remarks, said the objection was fatal, though if officially asked to arbitrate, the Congress could, no doubt, settle the matter, upon justice and reason, far better than could be done on a thousand battle-fields as bloody as the last, and they could only view the proposal as a homage to their cause. Dr. Bodenstedt loyally submitted, but great interest was felt in his suggested mission, especially by Mr. Sturge, whose benevolent heart yearned over the terrible effects of the war, and desired to see whether some kind of personal mediation would avail. In this project he was encouraged by the Schleswig-Holstein Minister at Frankfort, who promised his warm co-operation after the Congress had separated. It was proposed that Mr. Sturge, Mr. Burritt, and Mr.

Richard should undertake the responsibility, but the Secretary finding it urgently necessary for him to return to London, was obliged reluctantly to decline, and Mr. Frederick Wheeler consented to be his substitute.

At this time, it should be observed, there was a truce between the belligerents, brought about by the good offices of the British Government. The three gentlemen, before starting from Berlin, where they went to consult some eminent men, drew up a full statement of their objects in seeking an interview with both sides, to be submitted to the contending parties. They were received with great cordiality at Kiel, and subsequently at Rendsberg, the seat of Government, where the Schleswig army was entrenched, and were introduced to the Stadtholder and his Ministers, who treated them with marked consideration. The whole subject was discussed, after which the deputation was informed that the Government would be willing to refer the claims of the Duchies to the decision of enlightened and impartial arbitrators, provided that Denmark would do the same. Having been treated with distinguished hospitality, Mr. Sturge and his colleagues hastened to Copenhagen in a most hopeful frame of mind. In the Danish capital they found a strong feeling in favour of an amicable settlement by means of mutual concessions. Indeed, matters went so far as the appointment of an unofficial negotiator on each side to confer as to the character and constitution of the proposed Court of Arbitration. At that time Chevalier Bunsen, who was Prussian Ambassador at our Court, told Mr. Cobden that he had a stronger

hope of a satisfactory adjustment from that pacific embassy than from all that had previously been done by professional diplomatists. There was good reason for believing that Denmark and the Duchies would come to terms, but the Great Powers threw obstacles in the way, and the war was resumed with increased animosity. It will be remembered that when some years later Denmark was obtaining a military advantage, a joint Austrian and Prussian expedition, instigated by the Government of Vienna, was sent to assist Schleswig-Holstein, and that a collateral result of this combined military action was the short and decisive conflict by which the ascendency of Austria in Germany was transferred to Prussia.*

The year 1851 opened auspiciously for the cause of peace. The Great Industrial Exhibition in Hyde Park, which was carried on with the full patronage of Royalty, if it was not originated by the Prince Consort himself, was a brilliant success. From all parts of Europe and America people flocked to the wonderful Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, and the civilised world seemed to have

* It is a curious fact that while Austria and Prussia were at this period augmenting their armaments—the great struggle between them still "looming in the distance"—the *Times* newspaper was vigorously protesting against this insensate policy, as though it were an organ of the Peace Society. Speaking of the aspect of affairs in Germany, the leading journal said: "There is no quarrel but what may be settled in amicable conference, and it need never have arisen. At present the real quarrel is a rivalry of armaments. The only check on so foolish a competition is a general agreement to reduce these excessive preparations. The path of peace once entered, there may soon be a rivalry in this direction as great as that which is hurrying myriads to a cruel and fratricidal war." And more to the same effect.

come to the conclusion that friendly rivalry in the arts of peace was more reasonable and profitable than rivalry on the battle-field. Public opinion had altogether taken a more pacific form, and, as Mr. Richard says, "a deeper sense of the enormity of war was growing up everywhere in the heart of Christian nations, and a kindlier feeling gaining ground between different countries, especially between France and England." The peace movement at this time had the ear of a large section of the public—the circulation of its organ, the *Herald of Peace*, edited with conspicuous ability by Mr. Richard, was largely increased; it had received £1,000 over and above the proposed Congress Fund (£5,000); and everything favoured the holding of a Congress on English soil. July was the month fixed upon, and London was, of course, the locality. Great preparations were made, but they were not of the arduous kind that had been necessary on the Continent. One novel means of furthering that and other philanthropic objects was a series of receptions by Mr. Joseph Sturge, who had taken a house near Hyde Park in order to confer with the representatives of different nations. For the great assembly that commenced its sittings at Exeter Hall on the 22nd of July, the Committee were fortunate enough to secure as president Sir David Brewster, illustrious not only as a philosopher and foremost man of science, but as a philanthropist and a Christian. Upwards of a thousand persons were present from every district of the United Kingdom, and they included representatives of municipal and religious bodies, not a few members of Parliament,

and many chief magistrates, some two hundred ministers of various denominations, a goodly number of professors, and others eminent in the literary and scientific world, besides a considerable contingent of Frenchmen, Belgians, Germans, Italians, and Swedes. Mr. Richard describes his perplexity owing to the number of eloquent speakers, from whom a selection had to be made. More than sixty Americans, representing sixteen different States, had crossed the Atlantic, including Mr. Horace Greeley and Dr. Beckwith; and MM. Cormenin and Girardin, from France, were also present. Mr Cobden surpassed himself in the several speeches he delivered, and Mr. Bright would have been present but for "a severe domestic affliction"—the loss of his wife. Not the least interesting feature was the letters of sympathy from eminent men, such as Count Dumelli, President of the Chamber of Deputies at Turin; M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire; M. Carnot; General Subervie, a veteran French officer; M. Tracy, formerly Minister of Marine; and Herr Bodenstadt. Mr. Carlyle also wrote what was for him a genial letter, in which he said:—

Clearly beyond question, whatsoever be our theories about human nature, and its capabilities and outcomes, the less war and cutting of throats we have amongst us, it will be the better for us all! One rejoices much to see that innumerable tendencies of this time are already pointing towards the result you aim at; that, to all appearances, as men no longer wear swords in the streets, so neither, by-and-by, will nations; that among nations, too, the sanguinary *ultima ratio* will, as it has done among individuals, become rarer and rarer; and the tragedy of fighting, if it can never altogether disappear, will reduce itself more and more strictly to a *minimum* in our affairs.

Amongst the new speakers on the occasion were the Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham; the Rev. Dr. Brock, of London; Don M. Cubi I. Soler, a Spanish University Professor; Rev. H. Garnett, an escaped slave; M. Vuisart, a Paris working engraver—there were fifteen workmen from Paris on the platform—Dr. Creizenach, of Frankfort; Mr. Charles Gilpin; Mr. Samuel Gurney; and Mr. Horace Greeley.* When the last meeting was about to close, Mr. Richard, in responding to a vote of thanks, while admitting that the arrangements of the Congress involved much anxiety and labour, said that those engaged in the work had been recompensed a thousand-fold by the sublime spectacle they had witnessed during the three preceding days, and he earnestly hoped that the seed sown there would be productive of a rich harvest throughout the land. A brilliant Soirée at Willis's Rooms, specially in honour of the foreign visitors, at which some eight hundred persons of nearly all nations were present, brought the Congress to a most satisfactory close. The principal London dailies —there were at that time none in the Provinces— headed by the *Times* and *Morning-Chronicle*, then the chief organ of the Whig party, derided the ideas of the "peacemongers" as Utopian, but a large section of the weekly press in town and country heartily supported them.

* Mr. Sturge, in illustration of the moral influence of these meetings, mentioned that in the course of his recent travels, when once in some difficulty about his passport, his ticket of membership was at once accepted as a substitute.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXHIBITION OF 1851—PEACE MOVEMENTS IN LONDON AND MANCHESTER.

PRIOR to the opening of the Exhibition of 1851 the Committee of the Peace Society had memorialised the Commission to exclude all warlike weapons, but that was held to be impracticable, as they were part of the productions of industry. It was, however, a significant tribute to the moral influence of Mr. Richard and his colleagues that no prizes for such inventions were bestowed, the jurors having apparently felt that the object of the show was rather to save than to destroy life. At the closing ceremony in October, Prince Albert ended his address with these pacific words:—"Let us all earnestly pray that that Divine Providence which has so benignantly watched over and shielded this illustration of Nature's productions, conceived by human intellect and fashioned by human skill, may still protect us, and may grant that this interchange of knowledge, resulting from the meeting of enlightened people in friendly rivalry, may be dispersed far and wide over distant lands; and thus, by showing our mutual dependence on each other, be a happy means of promoting unity among nations, and peace and goodwill among the various races of mankind." These

philanthropic aspirations were not, alas! destined to be fulfilled in the near future. Within two months the struggle between the French National Assembly and the Prince-President ended in the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, which, commencing with a ruthless massacre in Paris, swept away the liberties of the nation, and changed the current of European politics. Before the year closed, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had of his own motion given the sanction of this country to the policy of Louis Napoleon, was compelled to resign; and not long afterwards he succeeded in avenging himself on Lord John Russell by defeating the Government—the last of the pure Whig Governments—on the Militia Bill, which had been proposed in consequence of the general disquietude caused by the course of events in France. Military writers, countenanced by the Duke of Wellington, seized the opportunity to create a panic on our defencelessness. This state of feeling the Peace Society found itself powerless to stem, and was obliged greatly to restrict its operations. Before the year 1852 had expired the French Republic had been transformed into the Second Empire; the Great Duke had gone to his rest; and the Government of Lord Derby had appealed to the country with uncertain results, and was defeated on Mr. Disraeli's Budget on the 17th of December. Lord John being an impossible Premier, and Lord Palmerston an impossible Foreign Minister, the celebrated Coalition Ministry was formed under Lord Aberdeen. It was at the outset, as the Queen says in one of her letters, "brilliant and

strong," * but ere long, by its culpable and vacillating policy, the country was precipitated into the terrible Crimean War. In the new Cabinet, Lord John Russell consented to serve as Foreign Minister, and Lord Palmerston became Home Secretary. This brief outline of events will somewhat help to explain what follows.

With the new year Mr. Richard endeavoured to carry out his intention of keeping some regular record of facts and reflections, especially to note the course of his reading, which was "considerable, though rather desultory." His diary was continued for several months and then abruptly stops. The entries indicate that at that time he was getting together material to assist Mr. Cobden in his celebrated pamphlet, "1793 and 1853," as well as writing articles for the *Herald of Peace* and such periodicals as the *Eclectic Review*, on his own special subject. There are occasional indications of periods of melancholy, the result, no doubt, of too strict seclusion, alternating with periods of public excitement; but now and then there are such passages as this, written after spending a few hours with an entertaining friend, Mr. Chamerovzow, at the house of Mr. Ellington:—"Such laughter is medicinal for mind and body, but such is the effect of early education in forming an artificial conscience by forbidding as sinful what is perfectly innocent, that I remember well when a youth having a vague consciousness of guilt after a merry evening." There was a good deal of trouble at that time arising out of the Militia Act. Some sixty or

* Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort."

more of the leading friends of peace had sent a letter to Mr. Walpole, then Home Secretary, avowing the authorship of bills circulated broadcast in opposition to that enactment, for the posting of which some other parties were to be prosecuted. No reply was received, and a copy of the letter was forwarded to Lord Palmerston when he succeeded to the Home Office. His lordship's reply was "curt and sulky," but from subsequent correspondence it appears that he was resolved to persist in the prosecutions, his colleagues being ignorant of his intention, until remonstrances from Sir W. Molesworth and other Ministers, and a very determined protest from Sir A. Cockburn, then Attorney-General—who actually refused to set the law in motion—put an end to the threat, and Lord Palmerston was "as savage as a bear compelled to relinquish his prey." Mr. Richard more than once indicates a strong belief that his lordship detested the peace party, and is at a loss to understand how Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone, who had so vehemently opposed his foreign policy, could sit with him in the same Cabinet; but, he adds, "such is the fascination of his personal manners, and so great are his abilities, that he is still very popular both with the House of Commons and a considerable party in the country."

Although Mr. Richard had retired from the pastoral office, he occasionally appeared in metropolitan pulpits, and now and then went to hear well-known preachers. Amongst these was Robert ("Satan") Montgomery, whom he heard at a church in Lombard Street. His

discourse, though evangelical in sentiment, was found "unspeakably dry, artificial and unreal, devoid of all earnestness and conviction." A social evening with Mr. Binney is spoken of, when the great preacher was in good spirits, and talked with great vivacity, "though, like all men who are the idols of coteries, he seemed a little too conscious of the homage he was inspiring." A few days later Mr. Richard was on a visit to Mr. Miall, at Sydenham, who gave him a complete sketch of his new work, "Bases of Belief." "He is rather nervous," says the diarist, "about his first effort in Parliament [where he sat for Rochdale], which he means—I think wisely—to postpone as long as he can, in order to study and understand the tone and spirit of his audience. He told me he would have been very glad if I had come in for the Carnarvonshire boroughs, as he feels he has not much help, so far as speaking is concerned, among the Dissenters of the House." Even then the idea of his having a seat in the House was familiar to Mr. Richard's friends, Mr. Cobden included, but there was no convenient constituency to appeal to.

The advent of the Aberdeen Ministry, some of the members of which, such as Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Molesworth, were of decided pacific tendencies, encouraged the Peace Society to convene another Congress—this time at Manchester; and Mr. Richard went to that city some weeks in advance, with the late Mr. Stokes—his indefatigable assistant on this, as on all similar occasions—to make preparations. The task was not an easy one, for, as Mr. Cobden said, "the

whole world seemed panic-stricken," and very wary walking was necessary. The Secretary evidently felt the responsibilities of his position, but found that the old League spirit, though more restricted, was not dead. Mr. George Wilson was secured as chairman, and Newall's Buildings and the Free Trade Hall were once more in requisition. It was resolved to raise a fund of £10,000. This was started by those princely givers, Messrs. Sturge of Birmingham, and Thomasson of Bolton, putting down their names for £500 each, if eight others would do the same. The challenge was well taken up at a special meeting, some £4,000 being subscribed in half an hour, and the rest on subsequent occasions. As one result of this effort, a few Manchester gentlemen were associated with the Peace Congress Committee. The Congress was held in the Free Trade Hall on the 27th January and following day; Mr. Wilson and Dr Davidson (then of the Lancashire Independent College) being the respective chairmen. Both Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were present, the former specially condemning the attempts that were being made to excite jealousy and suspicion of France; and amongst the foremost speakers were the Revs. F. Tucker, Newman Hall, and George W. Conder. At the magnificent Public Meeting in the Free Trade Hall Mr. Bright gave an impassioned address. "Though full of apprehension," says Mr. Richard, "the event rebuked and belied my fears. I don't think we ever had an assembly on the whole so weighty and influential, and pervaded by a spirit so earnest and courageous."

It was now suggested that Manchester as well as London should be a centre of operations, and that as a corollary, Mr. Richard should spend two or three months in the capital of the cotton district. The proposal was submitted to the Committee of the Peace Society, who thought that it must be accepted "as the only way of keeping matters straight in connection with the new movement." "I made no objection," says the writer, "though personally I anticipate small pleasure from the arrangement. But I am trying to learn the lesson that duty and not personal preference should be the guide of my life"—a lesson not learnt by him for the first time. At this time Mr. Cobden expressed a strong wish that his friend should drop the little "Rev.," as it might lead some people to expect sermonising speeches, "though no one," he added, "could more effectually convince those who listened to him." The title, replied Mr. Richard, was a matter of perfect indifference to him. He visited many Lancashire towns, but in some cases there was rather serious opposition to the Peace programme. A meeting was held at Ashton-under-Lyne, amongst other places, and here he went over the remarkable house of Mr. Hindley, one of their vice-presidents. "It was built for the expected son of Johanna Southcote. It had cost £10,000, and was most elegant and complete in every part—the floor of oak, and all the doors of solid mahogany, with glass handles silver-mounted. There is not a nail in the house. The family who built it had been wealthy, but had fallen into decay, and Mr. Hindley

bought it for less than £2,000." The journeys backwards and forwards to London, the wear and tear of meetings, and the anxieties arising from the dual system, considerably affected Mr. Richard's health during this winter. After the Congress a large deputation, headed by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, Mr. Sturge, and others, presented an address at Downing Street to Lord Aberdeen, who received them very cordially, and gave the impression that his lordship sympathised with their movement as a counterpoise to the outcry for increased national defences. No reporters being present, Mr. Richard and one or two friends put their recollections together, and sent the result to the *Observer* newspaper.*

We subjoin from the diary a full and interesting sketch of the debates on the India Bill, then a very absorbing public question:—

I was present at nearly all the debates in the House of Commons on the India Bill, except on the night of its introduction, by which exception I happily escaped the infliction of Sir C. Wood's five hours' speech, which is described on all hands as a most dismal production. The speech of Lord Stanley [now Lord Derby], in moving the amendment, was good in substance, but he is utterly lacking in all the physical attributes of an effective speaker, his voice feeble and effeminate, his utterance thick and indistinct, his delivery inanimate. He has carefully cultivated his own mind by study and travel, and he has certainly given indications of mental independence hardly to be expected from such a quarter. He was answered by Mr. Lowe, who is a tall and hale man, but with hair as white as snow. He spoke in a quiet, conversational tone, with great ease and perfect

* Some weeks later Mr. Cardwell stated at a party at Sir W. Molesworth's that Lord Aberdeen was "uncommonly pleased with the deputation."

mastery of himself, meeting some of Lord Stanley's points with considerable adroitness, but as one playing at fence and not fighting in earnest, for he scarcely said a word in approval of Sir C. Wood's poor patchwork measure, for which no man of intelligence can by possibility feel any respect, much less enthusiasm. Macaulay's was a brilliant dissertation, which everybody listened to with delight, but it was not much to the purpose. He seemed to me indeed to speak as one who knew he was expected, from his former connection with India, to take part in the debate, but who had little taste for the subject, and was determined to support his own reputation as a fine orator without coming into very rough contact with any of the sharp sides of the subject. Accordingly, he did not, I think, make a single allusion to any of the preceding speakers, but took occasion, from a remark of Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords about over-educated men, to deliver a beautiful essay, sparkling with happy historical instances, on the early promise of excellence which eminent men usually give during their academic course, spending a good deal of time, as Disraeli afterwards remarked, in demonstrating what was not doubtful, and illustrating what was not obscure. His manner, however, was excellent. His voice, delivery, and action, are all good, and though, no doubt, the speech was elaborately prepared, it flowed from his lips with so much ease and nature as completely to conceal its art. The House listened with rapt attention, but everybody, I presume, must have felt that they had enjoyed a most pleasant entertainment, though they had gained a very small contribution towards the settlement of the Indian question.

Cobden's speech was excellent, grappling, in his usual keen, logical, direct style, with the very core of the subject. But it was very badly delivered, broken and hesitating to a degree that greatly marred the effect of his reasoning. He told me before he went in that he was excessively nervous, and would be as pleased as a schoolboy when it was over. He said also, what I was very sorry to hear, that he becomes more and more nervous every time he addresses the House, which, no doubt, partly accounts for his speaking so rarely. His position is, no doubt, a very trying one. The Tories still hate him for having defeated them on Free Trade. The Whigs dislike him greatly because he won't become a part of their tail, as so many of the *ci-devant* Radicals have consented to do. The old Radicals who were in the House long before him, such as Sir B.

Hall, Williams, Brotherton, etc., are extremely jealous, I suspect, of his popularity and influence, and carefully abstain from doing anything that might seem to encourage the idea of his being the leader of the extreme Liberal party. Sir James Graham answered Cobden. In him I was greatly disappointed as a speaker. He spoke no doubt with great clearness and ease, but it was very dull and languid, with not a spark of that fire with which, judging from his reported speeches, he sometimes sets the House in a blaze. Bright spoke admirably. His speech was not better in its matter than Cobden's, but it was delivered with an air of confidence, self-possession, and earnestness, which gave it a great advantage in point of effect at the time. He was listened to with profound attention, and is evidently becoming a great favourite with the House. Disraeli's was certainly of its kind a masterly display. He reviewed the whole debate, and exposed the weak points of his adversaries with consummate skill, and that night, as it appeared to me, with no ill-nature whatever, except perhaps a slight touch of it when he alluded to Sir C. Wood, who, indeed, seems to have the faculty of provoking a feeling of strong personal antipathy more than any man in the House. But Dizzy is evidently losing the confidence of his party. Nearly all the cheering when he spoke came from the Indian reformers, led by Bright, while the Tory benches were silent. He dealt some hard hits at some of his own party—as, when speaking of Sir R. Inglis, "the hon. baronet is opposed to the amendment, as indeed he generally is to every amendment;" a sarcastic *equivoque*, which most happily described its victim. Lord John Russell answered Disraeli, and closed the debate. That he is an able man cannot, I suppose, be doubted, since not only his own followers, but the greatest of his opponents have emphatically acknowledged it. But I never could somehow get up any enthusiasm for Lord John. His appearance as he stands before the table, throwing out his chest and pulling back the skirts of his frock-coat, and mouthing his words in his pompous little fashion, as he turns round to the benches behind him to claim the applause of the obsequious habitants of the Treasury benches, seems to me, I confess, far more ludicrous than sublime.

Towards the autumn of 1853 Mr. Richard received an invitation to become Principal of Brecon College—a

distinction which implied, in the estimation of those who made the offer, his fitness for the headship of a theological institution. He was naturally perplexed, as well as honoured, by the proposal. He was now in the prime of life (in his forty-first year), and whatever might be his choice in this emergency, it would have to be permanent. Amongst those with whom he took counsel was the Rev. Dr. Campbell, editor of the *British Banner*, who wrote him a long, able, heartily fraternal, and somewhat magniloquent letter, vividly setting forth the alternatives. The Welsh proposal, says the Doctor, is one of high trust, fraught with great usefulness, and would enable his correspondent to become the benefactor of his native land, and exercise an untold spiritual influence over his countrymen. It would be a sphere of literary ease, removed from the wear and tear and agitations of life, and would be a permanent provision for the rest of Mr. Richard's days. With great force, and some pardonable exaggeration, Dr. Campbell states the case on the other side. He says, with a cogency that could not fail seriously to influence a correspondent with almost ideal views of duty :—

"I look upon the Peace Society as, of its class, by far the most important movement of the age. Next to Associations for Propagating the Gospel, nothing, in my view, can be compared with it. And, indeed, as it relates to the kingdoms and empires of Europe—kingdoms and empires embodying the knowledge, the wealth, the power of the great globe itself, for the whole is centred there—I assign to the Peace Society a place above that even of missionary societies. While these Powers would laugh at them, they listen to the Peace Society. I look upon it as the monitress of Cabinets, and the chief check to the madness of statesmen. The Peace Society

talks to them in a language they understand, and, more serious still, that the people understand. I am as confident as of my existence that it has done more than all other things united to keep down the war spirit of England, and through her to maintain the peace of the world—that peace which is the condition of all good, and without which it is impossible for even the Gospel itself to make progress, or even maintain its ground. Mr. Cobden alone, by his speeches and pamphlets, has, of late years, done more to promote peace than all the bishops of all the Churches of Europe.

The writer goes on to remark that of the Peace Society, as of all kindred associations, the secretary is the nexus—the life and soul—and for that office Mr. Richard was pre-eminently qualified, not a necessary attribute being wanting. Nor does he know of any one else fit for the arduous office, and the worst consequences would probably follow Mr. Richard's withdrawal. A further consideration was that times might change, the appeal of the Society for public support become weaker, influential friends disappear, and himself, disqualified for other work, obliged to be content in his old age with a small annuity, the fruit of subscriptions. There is more to a similar effect in this elaborate letter, including the hint that an annuity of at least £100 might be secured to Mr. Richard by his peace friends, to take effect in his sixtieth year, or sooner. And Mr. Richard is asked to remember that every year his pastoral character and habits would become less pronounced, and that he would gradually become disqualified for that sphere of labour. Thus the whole case was stated by Dr. Campbell with kindliness and sympathy. "Should you," he says in con-

clusion, "decide on holding by the Society, the act will involve no small amount of sacrifice, and bring with it no small amount of peradventure." Need it be said that Mr. Richard did not long hesitate. He came to the conclusion that he could best advance the cause of Christianity and peace and serve his country, by remaining in his present sphere, with all its uncertainties, and very gratefully he declined the invitation to Brecon.

The Secretary of the Peace Society had again to put forth all his energies to secure a successful Conference at Edinburgh, which was held in October, 1853, and was the last of the series. The state of public opinion was not favourable to such an assembly, the war feeling being in the ascendant. Still the promoters of the movement persevered, and partly owing to the powerful support of Mr. Duncan M'Laren, then Lord Provost of Edinburgh, a large number of delegates attended from all parts of Scotland, including many Presbyterian ministers. Mr. Cobden in his principal address went fully into the question—Ought we to go to war to maintain the independence and integrity of Turkey? and Mr. Bright in one of his most impressive speeches appealed in a strain of dignified eloquence against the popular infatuation. Mr. Richard himself described the success of the Conference as "unequivocal, triumphant, complete." It was followed up by a vigorous and extensive agitation throughout Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE TREATY OF PARIS.

THE war of England with Russia—now looked back upon as one of the greatest political blunders of modern times—broke out in 1854. But for many months previously it had cast its baleful shadow before. No more anomalous event has occurred in our annals. The Court was (at first) opposed to it; the Cabinet was opposed to it; and even (for a short time) the Press was opposed to it.* It was born of ignorance and confusion, intensified by political passion so strong and unreasoning that at last England and France found their decisions dominated by the fiat of the "unspeakable Turk," who, in the end, proved too much even for Lord Stratford himself, the implacable foe of Russia. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other statesmen, as well as Mr. Richard and the Peace Society, did their very utmost to stem the ungovernable tide in and out of Parliament. It was utterly in vain. That Prince Albert was attacked by the Press and hissed out of doors, Mr. Sturge refused a hearing and grossly insulted at a public meeting even in his beloved Birmingham, and Mr. Bright burnt in effigy at Manchester by a howling mob, is a sufficient index of the inflammatory state of popular feeling

* See Mr. Delane's opinion, Chapter X.

against Russia, for which too much cause had been given by the suppression of Hungarian independence, and which was stimulated by newspaper misrepresentations of the intentions and resources of the Czar.* Besides which, Napoleon III. cared less for the "Holy Places," which were ostensibly an important French interest, than for the strengthening of his dynastic position by means of a great war in alliance with England. Possibly the Emperor was also somewhat influenced by the fact that, while all the other Sovereigns of Europe conceded to him the traditional title of

* Even the alleged proofs of the ambitious aims of the Czar drawn from the secret correspondence, and the despatches of Sir Hamilton Seymour, dissolved away when these official papers came to be carefully analysed. "This secret correspondence," says Mr. Richard in his "History of the Origin of the War with Russia," founded on Parliamentary documents, "proves that the Emperor of Russia was, above all things, anxious for the friendship and alliance of England. It proves that, spontaneously and of his own accord, he solemnly disclaimed on his own part, and that of his son and successor, any wish or design of establishing himself at Constantinople. It proves that, in anticipation of the inevitable downfall of Turkey, of which there is, probably, no statesman in Europe who now entertains any serious doubt, he thought it desirable to have some understanding with England, which, next to himself, had the greatest interest in the fate of Turkey, as to what should be done with that Power; in order, if possible, to avoid the confusion and certainty of a European war, which must attend such an event if it came unprepared for. It proves, that Sir H. Seymour at first strongly approved of the proposal, as likely to be "a noble triumph for the civilisation of the nineteenth century." It proves, that our ministers, so far from being shocked by it, as an act of atrocious political profligacy, rejected it only on grounds of policy, and regarded the fact of its having been made, and the mode of making it, as a proof "of the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition, of his Imperial Majesty;" declared after it had been fully disclosed to them, that "they felt entire confidence in the rectitude of his Imperial Majesty's intentions," and that they received the "important and remarkable document," in which it was formally embodied "with feelings of sincere satisfaction, as a renewed proof of the Emperor's confidence and friendly feelings."

"brother," the haughty Romanoff would only agree to call him "cousin."

Before the war was actually concluded, and when British feeling had been greatly sobered down by the horrors of a winter's campaign in the Crimea, Mr. Richard, in the pamphlet already quoted, marshalled in a concise form the following further facts based on the Parliamentary papers :—

We offer our mediation between Turkey and Russia, avowedly as the friend of the former Power, and bring up our forces to the Dardanelles for her protection and defence, at the hazard of involving ourselves in a general European war. But we think this might be avoided if Turkey will listen to prudent counsel. We advise her, in the most earnest manner, in conjunction with the other great States of Europe, not to declare war. She *does* declare war in the very teeth of our advice. We advise her to suspend hostilities on the Danube while negotiations are still pending, and obtain from her a promise to that effect. She breaks that promise, and rushes into hostilities on the Danube. We advise her, through our Ambassador, not to send her Squadron into the Black Sea, not only because it might prejudice peace, but because it was imprudent and perilous. She does send her Squadron into the Black Sea, and gets a part of it destroyed in consequence. We present her a proposal for peace, which we urge on her acceptance in terms of almost humiliating entreaty, as a plan by which the original difference "may be settled on safe and honourable grounds, with every moral and political advantage on her side." She positively rejects our proposal, together "with every kind of note, however carefully expressed." We warn her not only that a war would entail great calamities upon the whole civilised world, but that it would probably lead to the dissolution of her own tottering Empire. But she insists upon going to war in spite of these warnings. And when she does so, we, in the face of all our own declarations, and protests, and rebukes, follow in her wake and justify her conduct. That is to say, that this great nation suffered herself to be dragged helplessly into this yawning abyss, at

the tail of the fanatical Turks, contrary to her own deliberate judgment and reiterated advice. It does not diminish but rather increases our humiliation, if it be true that the Turkish Government itself was driven on by the clamour and menaces of the ignorant and violent Mussulman mob at Constantinople. But, unhappily, the English public was at that time the prey of a fanaticism no less fierce, and far more inexcusable, than that of the Turks. A frantic and irrational hatred of Russia and its Sovereign pervaded the public mind, and was fanned by the Press, the platform, and alas! that we must add, the pulpit. The Ministers of the Crown were divided among themselves, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in explaining the state of matters at Constantinople, seems to have unconsciously, but we believe most accurately, represented how matters stood in London. "The Sultan," he says, "his Ministers, and the Council, all stood in fear of each other, and though, perhaps, at heart desirous of peace, were reluctant to forfeit their share of the popularity enjoyed by the votaries of war."*

Eventually the view of the Crimean War taken by the Peace Party was completely vindicated. Mr. Cobden, writing to Mr. Richard in 1856, says: "I paid a visit on Wednesday to my neighbour, the Bishop of Oxford, and met Lord Aberdeen, Roundell Palmer, and some others. The Earl was even more emphatic than at

* Before the war had proceeded far, the 26th of April, 1854, was set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On that occasion, Mr. Richard, Mr. E. Miall and his brother, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. H. R. Ellington, and other kindred friends, spent the day at Epsom, and dined together. The meeting was so agreeable that it was resolved to continue these reunions, and what was jocosely called the Privy Council was formed. The friends met alternately at each other's houses on the first Saturday afternoon in each month for nine months in the year, and, of course, discussed the political and ecclesiastical topics of the day. The Club has been carried on ever since. With rare exceptions Mr. Richard was a constant attendant down to his last days, and greatly enjoyed the social intercourse of these gatherings, and was not seldom the life of the party, especially when he could be drawn into the historical and humorous reminiscences which a retentive memory supplied.

the same place a year ago, in lamenting to me that he had suffered himself to be drawn into the Crimean War. He declared that he ought to have resigned. Speaking of his policy, he said:—'It was not the Parliament nor the public, but the Press that forced the Government into the war—the public mind was not at first in an uncontrollable state, but it was made so by the Press.' I really could not help pitying the old gentleman, for he was in an unenviable state of mind; yet I doubt if there be a more reprehensible human act than to lead a nation into an unnecessary war as Walpole, North, Pitt, and Aberdeen have done, against their own conviction, and at the dictation of others." *

To a similar effect were the admissions of Sir James Graham ("we never should have gone into it"); and Lord John Russell in his "Recollections" was still more penitent, for he not only admits the Crimean War to have been "a blunder," but taking upon himself the blame, in part, of not having insisted on the acceptance by Turkey of the Vienna Note, he adds:—"Thus has the course of history been changed *through my weakness.*" Finally the *Times* itself, which had so fiercely assailed Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Richard, for trying to prevent the war, made this unreserved recantation in 1871:—"We must frankly own that we feel somewhat more free to act like men and Christians now than we could do five years ago. That ill-starred war, those half million of British, French, and Russian men left in

* The same letter is quoted in Morley's "Life of Cobden," 2nd volume, page 174.

the Crimea, those two hundred millions of money wasted in the worst of all ways, have discharged to the last iota all the debt of Christian Europe to Turkey. Never was so great an effort made for so worthless an object. It is with no small reluctance we admit a gigantic effort, and an infinite sacrifice, *to have been made in vain.*" Nevertheless, some twenty years later the British Government—Lord Beaconsfield being Prime Minister—was found once again taking the side of the "worthless" Turk.

Disheartened as they unquestionably were by the frustration of their fondest hopes, the leaders of the Peace movement by no means surrendered themselves to despair. When the war came to an end in 1856, Mr. Richard, with that remarkable persistence that marked his course through life, and his wonted good sense in making the best of circumstances, decided to do his utmost to bring about, if possible, a formal recognition in the Treaty about to be concluded of the principle of Arbitration, so that it might be, as it were, recognised as part of the international law of Europe. Accordingly a large and influential deputation, including some twenty members of Parliament, waited upon Lord Palmerston, now rehabilitated at the Foreign Office, with a memorial from the Peace Congress Committee, urging upon Her Majesty's Government "the importance of proposing at the Conference, then sitting [at Paris], some system of international arbitration which may bring the great interests of nations within the cognisance of certain fixed rules of justice and right." His Lordship received

the deputation with his wonted urbanity. But while acknowledging that "associations like those there represented, though he could not go with them to the full extent, must yet have great influence on the general opinion of mankind, and greatly dispose them to prefer the solid advantages of peace to the more dazzling results of war," Lord Palmerston raised all sorts of objections to the proposal laid before him, and left little ground to hope that his influence would be exerted in its favour. Mr. Richard, however, was not discouraged by this rebuff of the Foreign Minister, and insisted that some of the friends of peace should go to Paris, and bring the subject under the attention of the plenipotentiaries, and through them of the various sovereigns they represented. Many of his colleagues shrank from such a proceeding as likely to expose their cause to ridicule. At length he opened his heart to Mr. Sturge, and the reply of his philanthropic friend was cordial and decisive. "Thou art right," he said; "if no one else will go with thee, I will." Thus the matter was settled, and they were subsequently joined at Paris by Mr. Charles Hindley, the member for Ashton. Of this three weeks' visit during March, 1856, there is a record in one of Mr. Richard's diaries. The deputation drew up a memorial to the several Powers represented in the Congress, copies of which were forwarded to the plenipotentiaries in the French capital. Some of these diplomatists, such as Count Walewski, Count Cavour, and the Prussian representatives, favourably responded —the last named being especially cordial, and conveying

the information that their master expressly wished them to support its prayer. But how was the memorial to be formally laid before the Congress? Their only hope was in Lord Clarendon, upon whom accordingly the deputation waited. The following is an account of the interview which took place at the Hôtel du Louvre:—

He received us with great courtesy and frankness. Mr. Hindley introduced us in a few judicious words, and I then stated briefly the object of our visit to Paris, and read a portion of the memorial which we had presented to Lord Palmerston before leaving London. I added that it appeared to me that his Lordship was, of all men, the most suitable person to suggest at the conferences the introduction of an Arbitration clause in the New Treaty, as that principle had been already fully recognised in the Treaty on the Fisheries question, between Great Britain and the United States, which had been recently made under his Lordship's instructions, and that he had further given his sanction to the principle by having proposed, as I understood, within the last few months, to refer the matter in dispute between us and the American Government on the Central American question to Arbitration. He assented to this remark. He said that no doubt it was highly desirable that nations should find some means of settling their differences without going to war; that very often the question in dispute was not worth one day's expenditure in war, to say nothing of higher considerations. Still, there was such a thing as national honour and dignity, and if we did not vindicate these, and show a readiness to hold our own, we might expect that others would bully us. We could not restrain a smile at the use of this last expression. He observed it, and laughed very heartily himself. He added that there would be a difficulty, he thought, in inducing Governments to bind themselves beforehand to Arbitration. I said that we thought the peculiar advantage of a stipulated arbitration consisted in this, that it enabled Governments to refer the matter in dispute to an impartial third party, before they had become mutually irritated, and what was of still more importance, in a country like our own, before the newspapers had inflamed public

opinion in such a way as rendered it sometimes difficult for Ministers of State to follow their own free judgment in regard to the matter at issue.

The shrug of the shoulders and the shaking of the head, and the uplifting of hands and eyebrows, with which he signified his appreciation of this remark, was quite a study, and showed how deeply he had felt the sinister influence of newspaper violence. Again he said that it would be difficult to persuade Governments to bind themselves to Arbitration, but he added, "I will do what I can." He then asked me to leave him a copy of the memorial, portions of which I had read, and this, of course, I gladly did.

The deputation left Paris with no very sanguine hopes of ultimate success. But they had, at all events, done their duty. When several weeks later the protocols of the Congress were published, they found, to their intense delight, that Lord Clarendon had, indeed, most loyally redeemed his promise, and had introduced the question to his colleagues with a force and earnestness which proved that his heart was thoroughly in it. The following was the resolution ultimately adopted:—"The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the wish that States between which any serious misunderstandings may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly Power. The plenipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the Congress will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol." This declaration was by no means in so binding a form as the deputation desired, but it was sufficiently emphatic to indicate the adhesion of the Congress to the great principle involved. Mr.

Sturge wrote Lord Clarendon a touching letter of cordial thanks, to which his lordship responded by expressing a hope that there would be a much wider application of the principle endorsed, because it had been recommended to all other Governments. That adhesion was, without exception, subsequently made.

The moral influence of "this happy innovation," as Lord Clarendon phrased it, was fully recognised when the conditions of peace were discussed in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone spoke of its having been the first time "that the representatives of the principal nations of Europe have given an emphatic utterance to sentiments which contain, at least, a qualified disapproval of a resort to war, and asserted the supremacy of reason, of justice, humanity, and religion." Lord Derby also referred to it in similar terms; and Lord Malmesbury declared this act of the Congress to be one of the most important to civilisation as recognising "the immortal truth that time, by allowing reason to operate, is as much a preventive as a healer of hostilities."

Prior to this historical event, Mr. Richard and his colleagues sought an audience of the Emperor, but it was eventually declined on the plea of overwhelming business. Count Cavour had sent a very civil letter, promising to submit the memorial to "the King of Sardinia"—a title that in these latter days sounds somewhat unfamiliar. The Secretary of the Peace Society also called upon a number of his old friends, M. Bastiat, one of the most prominent, having lately gone to his rest. M. de Lamartine, now a private

citizen, received him very cordially, and said that the war had never been popular in France, where the desire for peace was intense. M. Horace Say Mr. Richard found to be paralysed and helpless—the wreck of a fine man; M. Sacy, of the *Journal des Débats*, had little hope of the prevalence of peace views till the hearts of men were changed; M. Cormenin was still full of his philanthropic theories; and M. Michel Chevalier gave his guest some useful statistics as to French armaments. Mr. Richard also dined again with his old friends of the Economic Society, who cordially drank the health of Mr. Sturge and himself. Of a grand review they witnessed at the Champ de Mars on the 1st of April, in celebration of the conclusion of peace, it is said:—

About two o'clock the Emperor arrived, attended by a brilliant staff, among whom were many foreign officers, including Count Orloff, etc. Sixty or seventy thousand men deployed before him, including infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It was altogether a most dazzling spectacle. The splendour of the military costume, the perfect exactness of their movements and evolutions, the music and banners and flash of innumerable arms gleaming in the sun, which looked down upon them from a bright and unclouded heaven, and the immense crowd of spectators, stretching on all hands as far as the eye could see, formed, it must be admitted, a most magnificent *coup-d'œil*. Could one but forget that all this marvellous display of human skill, power, and ingenuity, was only an enormous machinery for the destruction of life and property, it might be gazed upon with delight. But, in fact, all this outward splendour with which it was clothed is evidently designed to conceal the coarse revolting butchery which is the end and object for which it is all organised. It is impossible also not to be struck on such an occasion with the reflection, how formidable an obstacle there exists to the triumph of peace and the abolition of standing armies, in the prodigious prestige with which these military institutions surround them.

The terrible Indian Mutiny, which broke out in the autumn of 1857, and led to such fearful atrocities, was associated by most well-informed Englishmen with the past misgovernment of our Eastern Empire. None felt this unprecedented calamity more keenly than the benevolent Joseph Sturge, and at this crisis—as always in such emergencies—he began to ask the question, "What can be done?" his conviction being that the oppressive treatment of the native population was the indirect cause of the volcanic outbreak. With this view he thought that it would be of inestimable service if some kind of voluntary commission were to go out to India, which would command the confidence of the natives, and elicit from them a full statement of the grounds of their disaffection; and with his usual generosity he undertook to be responsible for the cost of such a mission. But although he secured the co-operation of Mr. John Dickinson, of the India Reform Association, in furtherance of the object, no one could be induced to undertake the responsibility of proceeding to India. Mr. Sturge, therefore, determined to go himself, if he could secure a colleague of like convictions and sympathies. Mr. Richard was about leaving London for a few days' rest in the country after a season of rather exhausting labour, when he received a letter from Mr. Sturge asking him to delay his departure. At a subsequent interview, the self-sacrificing philanthropist stated the case, unfolded the programme of work which he thought should be attempted, and said he would do his best if his friend could accompany him. "There was so much

of noble self-devotion in the proposal," says Mr. Richard, "and so much of religious earnestness in the spirit in which it was made, that I did not dare to refuse;" and after due consideration he expressed his determination not to fail his friend. "Thus," says Mr. Sturge's biographer,* "in the sixty-fifth year of his age, with his health greatly enfeebled, and conscious of his own approaching end, was he prepared to leave the home that was dear to him, to brave the dangers of climate, and the horrors and hazards of that time of anarchy and war, with no expectation of gain or glory, but moved solely by sympathy for the wrongs of the poor natives of India, and a patriotic concern for the true honour of England. His design, indeed, was not accomplished. After frequent and earnest consultation with gentlemen intimately conversant with India, it was felt that the disturbed state of the country, and the extreme terror and jealousy which had taken possession of the native mind, would have made it impossible at that time to conduct such an inquiry as Mr. Sturge contemplated with any satisfactory result. But surely we may well believe that the Great Master must have pronounced over His faithful servant's unselfish purpose, "Thou didst well that it was in thine heart!"

There are several references in this diary to the *Morning* and *Evening Star*, with which Mr. Richard had a great deal to do. These journals were launched about the end of 1855. With many prominent friends of the Peace movement, Mr. Richard had felt the urgent need

* "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge," p. 528.

of a paper that, combined with the advocacy of all Liberal principles, should specially contend for a pacific policy at home and abroad, and support the arbitration principle and the reduction of armaments. At his earnest request, the ever-ready Joseph Sturge took the matter in hand, and with no little difficulty succeeded in raising the capital, to which he himself largely contributed. For several years matters went on smoothly, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Richard acting as joint editors, and the circulation of the papers being satisfactory. The changes that afterwards took place, as well as the way in which the paper was managed from the outset, are fully described in the following letter without date which Mr. Richard sent to a friend, whose name is not given:—

As you, and many other friends whom I greatly esteem, frequently speak or write to me respecting matters that appear in the *Star*, evidently under the apprehension that I have some influence over the paper which makes me partly responsible for its contents, I feel bound, in justice to myself, to inform you that I have, at least for the present, withdrawn from all connection with it. And I am anxious, if you will kindly permit me, to explain to you, who have always taken so deep an interest in the paper, my reasons for taking such a step.

You are aware that when I consented to take part in the direction of the *Star*, I did so by the express and formal invitation of the proprietors conveyed to me by Mr. Henry Rawson. You know, also, that I hesitated for some time to accept that invitation, and that I agreed at last owing principally to the urgent request of my dear friend, Joseph Sturge, who was kind enough to say that he and others who, at his solicitation, had subscribed liberally to start the paper, would feel much satisfaction and security in the knowledge that I was concerned in the management. I need not inform you that the paramount idea which presided over the establishment of the *Star*, so far as Mr. Sturge and his friends were concerned, was

the anxiety to have a daily journal in which moral questions, and especially the principle of peace, should be steadily advocated. I don't mean the abstract principles of the Peace Society, but a general pacific policy, as expressed by such ideas as international arbitration, reduction of armaments, non-intervention, etc. Without the hope of this I am certain they would never have stirred in the question at all, and it was their solicitude on this point that made them wishful to secure my presence at the *Star*, as, in some sort, the representative of their opinions.

The position it was intended I should occupy will best appear by the agreement that was drawn up in Mr. Sturge's presence, and signed by Mr. Hamilton and myself. I transcribe it from the copy now before me :—"It is agreed that Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Richard should meet every evening, review the day's paper, and confer as to the matter to be inserted in the next day's paper ; that they should revise the leading articles, and, so far as practicable, the summary, before they are printed ; that they should agree on the subjects to be treated, and on the writers to be employed on the various subjects, and generally consult on the policy, conduct, and literary management of the paper." This embodied, as nearly as I could understand them, Mr. Rawson's wishes. A copy of this document was sent to him, and in reply he expressed his satisfaction that the matter had been so arranged. If any further illustration of this point were required, I could quote from a letter written by that gentleman to me previously, in answer to one from me asking him to define the position he wished me to take, in which he says :—"In short, I may say we wish you to take a general supervision of the affairs of the *Star*, acting as our [the proprietors] representative, and having power to act in our behalf." My honoured friend, Mr. Cobden, who at that time took a very deep and active interest in the *Star*, after I had informed him of the proposal made to me, wrote :—"I hope you will undertake the office of editor-in-chief with an absolute veto over the leading articles. And I hope you will be put in a position to exert our unquestioned authority in all departments of the *Star* office." I make these citations simply to protect myself from the imputation, which is so abhorrent to my nature, of having been merely deluding myself by my own vanity or arrogance in assuming that I had, and was intended to have, a position of some authority at the *Star*. Mr. Rawson's letter, you will see, invests me with very

ample powers—with much larger powers, indeed, than I ever attempted to exercise.

I endeavoured with zeal and conscientiousness, whatever might be lacking in ability, to devote myself to the paper. For the sake of it, I gave up almost everything in which I had been previously interested, except my duties at the Peace office. I worked at it earnestly because my heart was in it, and because I felt I had incurred a sort of obligation to do my utmost, by the importunity with which I had for a long time instigated my dear friend Mr. Sturge to embark in the undertaking of getting a daily paper for the Peace party. It is now more than a twelvemonth since Mr. Rawson one day came into the *Star* office, and introduced Mr. Samuel Lucas to me, with this simple announcement—"Well, Mr. Richard, Mr. Lucas is coming here to co-operate with you. I dare say you and he will work comfortably together." I replied that I had no doubt whatever such would be the case.

My impression was that Mr. Lucas was coming to attend to the business department, at which I was greatly rejoiced, for I had never ceased to urge the importance of having some one in the concern in London, with authority to adopt the measures and to expend the money which I knew was indispensable to the proper development of the paper. But there was not the slightest intimation given to me either then, or at any other time, by Mr. Rawson, or by any other proprietor, that I was to consider the arrangement with me and Mr. Hamilton at an end, or in any way modified. I discovered, however, very soon that Mr. Lucas was taking the whole thing into his own hands, acting not merely as manager but as editor likewise, and doing everything which, by the terms of the agreement I have cited, had been devolved upon Mr. Hamilton and myself, in a manner that was entirely irrespective of both of us. But my extreme dislike of anything like contention induced me to let matters take their course for a considerable time. At length Mr. Lucas made a communication to me, which implied that he considered me, and wished me to consider myself, as holding no other capacity there than an occasional writer of articles at so much a-piece, under his direction. I then wrote to him a friendly letter, stating that I thought he did not quite rightly apprehend my position at the *Star*, and explaining to him that when I came formally into connection with the *Star* I did so by the express invitation of Mr. Rawson, and, at the urgent

request of Mr. Sturge and Mr. Cobden, to undertake a joint supervision with Mr. Hamilton over the principles, policy, and literary management of the paper. Mr. Lucas did not answer this letter until he had sent it down to Mr. Rawson. He then called upon me at the Peace office, and gave me to understand, in no uncourteous terms, but in a manner sufficiently explicit, that whatever arrangements had been made with me, he considered himself now as installed in absolute authority over everything and everybody at the *Star*. He did not show me Mr. Rawson's letter; but from two or three sentences he read out of it, it seemed to confirm his own view of the matter.

My first impulse was—and perhaps it would have been the wisest course—to have then immediately and formally resigned my connection with the *Star*, and to have apprised Mr. Sturge and his friends of the fact, and of the serious and sudden change in my relations with the paper which had compelled me to do so. But I was distrustful of myself, and afraid of acting or appearing to act under the influence of personal pique or passion, and thereby losing an opportunity of great usefulness. I determined, therefore, to pocket my own dignity, in the hope that I might still be able to give effect substantially to my own views, and those of the friends whose representative I deemed myself to be. After an experiment, however, of some months, I found that it was not so, that I could not get into the paper what I thought important to be in it, while other things were inserted of which I could not possibly approve, and which I knew to be painfully at variance with the sentiments and feelings of those who had so generously given their money to start the paper. In the meantime, I was frequently receiving complaints and remonstrances addressed to me personally, as respecting things appearing or not appearing there, which I was totally powerless to control. It is difficult within the limits of such a letter as this to enter into details. I will, however, mention two things which were unsatisfactory to me. You are aware that when the paper was started great difficulty was felt by some of our friends on the subject of racing, theatricals, and matters of that sort. I endeavoured to reconcile them to the necessity of inserting *intelligence* on these subjects, by showing that a daily paper must to some extent be a reflection of the world as it is; that stating facts respecting such topics no more implied approval than giving an account of a battle implied approval of war.

But I promised that so long as I was connected with the *Star* I would endeavour to avoid admitting into the leaders, and other matter understood to commit the paper, anything having the appearance of sanctioning and vindicating these practices. And such was the case while I had any power, as Mr. Hamilton entirely sympathised with me on the subject. But since the change, articles have appeared which have committed the paper not only to approval, but to an open and somewhat ostentatious championship of these things, and sometimes in the notices giving them language has been employed very offensive to those holding different views. I have been repeatedly and severely reproached on this account by persons whose scruples I honour, and whose good opinion I should like to possess.

The other point to which I shall advert is this. It soon became clear to me that Mr. Lucas differed widely from me as to the comparative importance of the topics to be discussed in the *Star*. I observed an obvious and strong reluctance, and, in some cases, a positive refusal, to admit articles on peace, anti-slavery, India reform, and topics of that nature, in which I was most deeply interested, while preference was given to what I deemed rather trivial, though, no doubt, more amusing, subjects. I do not complain of any personal discourtesy. I merely felt what no doubt it was intended I should feel—that my opinion and wishes were no longer of any authority there. This put me, of course, in a painfully false position. It was no secret, as you are aware, to the whole circle of *our* friends that originally I was at the *Star* in a capacity which was supposed to give me some power over the course it took. I was therefore held, and am still held, by them responsible to a certain extent for what it contains. There was nothing, therefore, left for me but to discontinue my connection with it, and to adopt some means of letting that be known to those with whom it is important for me that I should stand right. I have done nothing in that matter yet, because I was most unwilling to take any step that would tend in the slightest degree to injure the *Star* or to inspire distrust of it in the minds of any of our friends. But I think you will see that I *must* do something to clear myself of responsibility when I am wholly divested of power.

After the lapse of some thirty years the subject is

not likely to create much personal feeling either way. A man like Mr. Richard, whose primary object in relation to the press was to advocate the principles he held dear, was, perhaps, hardly fitted to take the foremost part in the management of a daily paper that appealed to the general public, and would be apt to give too great prominence to the questions by which he was absorbed, and for the promotion of which he was on the staff of the *Star*. With his lofty Christian ideal, his purity and simplicity of character, and his great capacity as a writer, speaker, and organiser, Mr. Richard did not combine that quickness of perception, versatility, and grasp of multifarious details, which seem to be needed for the successful management of a daily newspaper. But however that may be, his position at the *Star* was from the first ill-defined and anomalous, and this appears to have been the proximate cause of the difficulties that afterwards supervened.*

* It may be of interest to add that on the death of Mr. Lucas, Mr. Justin McCarthy became editor of the *Morning Star*, which position he occupied from 1864 to 1868. On going to America Mr. McCarthy was succeeded by Mr. John Morley, who was the last editor. Amongst the foremost contributors to that paper, then or previously, were Mr. Washington Wilks, Mr. E. R. Russell now of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, Sir John Gorrie, Mr. W. Black the novelist, and Mr. F. W. Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. That the *Morning* and *Evening Star*, after an existence of many years, finally disappeared from the journalistic firmament and were absorbed by other stars, was, perhaps, due less to the unpopularity of the principles they espoused than to a variety of defects upon which it is not needful to dwell in these pages.

CHAPTER IX.

LIBERATION CONFERENCE AT SWANSEA, ETC.

In 1862 Mr. Richard was brought into public relations with his native land. Not that he ever forgot its claims. There were periodical visits to the Principality to see his relatives or enjoy relaxation, or advocate the interests of some religious or educational institutions—for no public man found it harder to refuse such help. The year referred to being the Bicentenary of Protestant Nonconformity was commemorated in England and Wales by public meetings and lectures on the Puritan exodus, and for the exposition of the principle of religious equality, and by efforts to build new places of worship, or pay off chapel debts. It was memorable also as having been the occasion of a strong and organised movement for giving the Liberation Society a firmer footing in the Principality. Some forty gentlemen, residents of South Wales, and well known in connection with the various denominations, convened a conference at Swansea on the 23rd and 24th of September to meet Mr. Edward Miall, Rev. Henry Richard (for the title still clung to him) and, Mr. J. Carvell Williams, as a deputation from the Liberation Society. It was attended by some two hundred representative men, pervaded by great earnestness of purpose, and fully

answered the expectations of the London Society that originated it. As the first organised movement for securing a better representation of Wales in the Imperial Parliament it deserves more than a cursory notice in these pages. The respective chairmen were: Mr. John Batchelor of Cardiff, Alderman Phillips of Swansea, and Mr. James Kenway of Neath, and Mr. E. M. Richards took the chair at the public meeting. Amongst the prominent speakers, besides the members of the deputation, were Mr. Dillwyn, M.P., who is still the leader of the religious equality party in the House of Commons, the Revs. Dr. Rees of Swansea, Dr. Davies of Haverfordwest, Dr. Thomas of Pontypool College, and Dr. Thomas Price of Aberdare. Looking down the list of those present on this occasion, it is sad to think how many of them have passed away. The whole tone of the conference was high, resolute, and hopeful. It was the first distinct effort in the Principality to throw off the yoke of the Church, and of the landed gentry who were its chief bulwark. The following is the most important of the resolutions adopted by the conference:—"That this Conference is of opinion that Welsh Nonconformity has never been adequately represented in the House of Commons—that while the population of Wales contains a much larger proportion of Dissenters than is to be found in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the relative number of their Parliamentary representatives is much less than in either of those countries, and that even of those Welsh members who attach themselves to the Liberal party,

the majority are in the habit of treating questions deeply interesting to the friends of religious liberty with culpable remissness; that this Conference is constrained to admit that, for these reasons, the Parliamentary influence exerted by Wales for the advancement of the voluntary principle has been comparatively small, and having such a conviction, the Conference is earnestly solicitous that practical steps should be taken for so improving the Welsh representation as to bring it into harmony with the views and feelings of the population." This resolution was founded on an elaborate paper read by Mr. Carvell Williams, who analysed the votes of Welsh members on prominent ecclesiastical questions. It was stated that the Church Rate Abolition Bill had received sixteen Welsh votes out of thirty-two—only one half—and that even this was the result of much external pressure. Mr. Dillwyn's proposal to abolish sectarian distinctions in the public grammar schools—a question of great importance in the Principality—secured a maximum of twelve votes, while there was an actual majority of Welsh members (eight to twelve) against Sir Morton Peto's Burial Bill of 1861, and Mr. Miall's motion in 1856 to disestablish the Irish Church had only two Welsh supporters. These statements were contrasted with the "great fact" that according to the Census of 1851, seventy nine per cent. of the worshipping population of Cambria were outside the Established Church.

Mr. Richard was, therefore, fully justified in saying that "Wales had as yet done nothing worthy of the

number, influence, zeal, and liberality of the Dissenting communities in the great movement for religious liberty," and he added, "doubtless there was much to be said in mitigation of this apparent apathy. Hitherto, they had been busily engaged in other work, and had done it with a completeness which had had no parallel in any other country on the face of the globe. This, no doubt, was the proper course—spiritual life first, and ecclesiastical organisation afterwards. But now that the first had been accomplished in so eminent a degree, the second should be commenced. He would not for a moment wish that the Churches should be diverted from their spiritual work, for their strength and usefulness consisted in the vitality and earnestness of their piety, but much more might be done than had hitherto been done in aiding the Liberation Society to give effect to the great and essential principles which it advocated." At another of the Swansea meetings Mr. Richard made an earnest address which, as being descriptive of the present, and prophetic of the future, may be quoted at somewhat greater length :—

"I assert without hesitation," he said, "that the living practical Christianity which to so large an extent prevails in this country is owing entirely to the influence of the voluntary principle, for whenever spiritual fire burns in the Church of England itself in Wales, it is to be traced to stolen embers from the altars of Dissent. Churchmen imagine that the country is theirs, and that we exist only on sufferance. Hence the mingled resentment and disdain with which they look down on the persons of Dissenting ministers. But this is a gross misconception ; the country is not theirs, but ours ; we claim it as a rightful possession. It is ours by spiritual conquest. Our forefathers found it overrun by the enemies of all truth and righteous-

ness, and that because of the neglect of its official guardians; and when the Nonconformists and early Methodists went forth to reconquer the land, the clergy of the Established Church were foremost in opposing them. It is ours also by spiritual cultivation. There is no population on the face of the earth more thoroughly instructed in religion than are the people of the Principality, and this is to be attributed, not to the State Church, but to Dissenting ministers and Sunday Schools."

Then referring to the political duties and temptations which their position involved, Mr. Richard said, with all the authority of a popular leader:—

"I want you to prove your sincerity as Nonconformists by appearing at the vestry meetings [church rates not being yet abolished], and by getting your names enrolled on the register, in order that you may send men to Parliament who shall worthily represent the Principality of Wales. The question for us is not as to encountering the sword and scaffold, or fines and imprisonments, in vindication of our principles. The time for these things is gone past for ever. But we also may be required to resist temptation and endure sacrifices peculiar to our age. The questions for us are: can we withstand those social allurements by which it is sometimes attempted to anoint us with flatteries, in order to induce us to relinquish or relax our convictions? Are we prepared to encounter the frown of Squire this or Lady Bountiful that? Are we prepared to be turned out of our farms rather than betray our principles? Are we prepared at all hazards to resolve that Wales shall no longer be grossly misrepresented in the House of Commons? I believe Mr. Dillwyn is the commander of a troop of volunteers. There may be a difference of opinion as to the necessity and value of such volunteers. But I should like to see him at the head of a body of political volunteers in the House of Commons sent to support him. He has worked with a thoroughly chivalrous courage in that House; and don't you think it would have a good effect if, when the Tories were mustering to resist your demands, it should be said, 'there is Dillwyn bringing up his Welsh reserves?' It will not be long before Mr. Miall enters the House again. Let some Welsh borough or

county do themselves honour by electing him. Why should we not have fifteen or twenty genuine Liberals in the House of Commons? Why do you not elect men of your own who can speak for you in that assembly? Do that, and then Mr. Dillwyn will be backed up by a noble band, and be able to charge into the ranks of the enemy for the cause of truth, righteousness, and liberty."

A full report of the proceedings of the Swansea Conference was scattered broadcast over the Principality, and paved the way for an effective organisation of Welsh Nonconformists in the interests of religious equality. One of the earliest effects of the movement—which was carried on with remarkable zeal and sustained energy under the auspices of the Liberation Society—was, as will be seen, the return of Mr. Richard himself to represent his countrymen in Parliament, and the political revival went on until the desired score of "genuine Liberals" were gathered around him, which in after years were swollen to twenty-eight; that is, some eighty per cent. of the entire representation of the Principality!

At this period all the spare time Mr. Richard could command was absorbed in preparing a memoir of his revered friend and constant coadjutor, Mr. Joseph Sturge, which he had undertaken at the request of the family of the illustrious philanthropist. It was a most congenial undertaking. "The labour of preparing this volume," he says in the preface, "has not been without a rich reward, for it has brought the author into yet more intimate acquaintance than he had before with one of the most beautiful characters, one of the most unselfish lives, he has ever known." Mr. Sturge died in

May, 1859, and his biography appeared in 1864. The long delay in its preparation arose from the necessity of the author carrying on a most extensive correspondence, reading several thousands of letters, and compressing into one volume material that might more easily, Mr. Richard says, have been dealt with in two or three. The selection from the letters is, however, sufficiently copious. Besides which, as the writer says, "He was so placed that he could only work at the biography by snatches, in the intervals of official duties always exigent, and sometimes very urgent, which it was impossible for him to pretermit." The volume, which comprises more than six hundred pages, was received with great and almost universal favour as a permanent memorial of a great man, whose life was one of singular beauty and goodness, prepared by one who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Sturge, had worked with him in many departments of Christian usefulness, was in complete sympathy with his philanthropic views, and eminently qualified for the task by his intellectual and moral qualifications. Nothing is more remarkable about it than the modesty of the biographer who, as much as possible, effaces himself. Mr. Richard's delineation of the character of his friend is singularly complete, beautiful, and impressive, and could only have been the outcome of profound sympathy. It is instinct with that profound seriousness and Christian ardour and tenderness of feeling which were characteristic of Mr. Richard when his feelings were greatly stirred. The volume met with a ready sale, and although the family

were anxious that the author should bring out a popular edition, the pressure of his engagements prevented him from preparing it. This is to be regretted, for there are few records of Christian philanthropy better adapted to stimulate the nobler impulses of young people.

A year before his death Mr. Sturge, with modest hesitation, accepted the position of President of the Peace Society, in succession to Mr. Charles Hindley, and with his usual resolution to do the work before him, and in spite of his growing infirmities, he accompanied Mr. Richard and Mr. Edward Smith, of Sheffield, on a somewhat extended tour through the North of England, with the special view of pressing the claims of peace principles on the young "before," as Mr. Sturge said, "the older ones have died." His inexpressible earnestness and pathos in the addresses delivered on these occasions were remarkable. He was to have presided at the annual meeting of the Peace Society on May 17th, and his name had been publicly announced, but on the 14th he was seized with fatal illness, and "was not, for God took him."

CHAPTER X.

VISIT TO MR. COBDEN AT MIDHURST.

TOWARDS the close of 1863 Mr. Richard accepted the invitation of Mr. Cobden to spend a few days with him at Durnford House, near Midhurst, in which neighbourhood he was born, his family having resided in the town for two hundred years. In the diary relative to this visit, which extends over forty pages, it is mentioned that Mr. Cobden's father had taken to farming at a time when agriculture was in a very depressed state, and not having much faculty for business, he was not successful. His mother, however, was a woman of great energy. Just before Mr. Richard's visit to Durnford House Mr. Cobden had been addressing his constituents at Rochdale, and as Mr. Bright accompanied him—the two appearing together the first time for many years—there was an immense assemblage of people to welcome them, the multitude outside being so great that it was necessary in order to get them into the building to employ a carpenter to saw out a portion of the wooden walls; so that "we had," as Mr. Cobden said, "to enter like burglars into our own meeting." On his return home, Mr. Cobden suffered rather severely from his old bronchial affection, and had been obliged to keep his bed for two or three

days, but on Mr. Richard's arrival he was much better. Many interesting conversations took place during this visit, the substance of which is recorded in the diary.

The story of the Rochdale *contretemps* reminded Mr. Richard of a similar incident in connection with Mr. Ward Beecher's visit to England to advocate the cause of the North when the American Civil War was at its height. There was a great meeting at Exeter Hall, and it took Mr. Beecher a quarter of an hour to reach the platform, owing to the dense crowds that beset every avenue. Mr. Cobden expressed the highest admiration of Mr. Beecher's ability and skill as a popular speaker, and thought him an unmatched platform orator. The adroitness with which he converted interruptions into materials of success was very masterly. He instanced his answer to the cry of some one at Exeter Hall, "How about the Russians at New York?" as an almost perfect example of successful repartee.

"I heard him preach," said Mr. Cobden, "at his own chapel in Brooklyn when I was in America, and I can't say that I liked him much as a preacher. I thought there was about him what I should call an affected unaffectedness, if you can understand what I mean. Instead of appearing in the usual clerical costume, he wore a loose shambling coat and a black tie, and walked to and fro along a sort of platform he had. And then there was a comic air about him, which was not pleasant to me who don't like anything like levity in a place of worship. I remember his saying that some public characters of whom he was speaking were like the man who tried to escape from his own shadow, and he acted this, turning his head back and running away from himself, as it were, until there was an audible titter through the whole church." He was much surprised when I told him that Beecher had a considerable portion of his speech at Exeter Hall written, and that he read

it from the MS. I had seen his notes, which he had given afterwards at his own request to a friend of mine, at the same time telling him that he had no verbal memory. "Well," said Mr. Cobden, "I should not have thought that of Beecher, but that is precisely my case, and hence it is that I can never write a speech. I could not remember the words, and it would confuse me." I asked him if he never wrote at all. He said, "I sometimes take half a sheet of note-paper, and jot down some of the leading points on which I intend to speak, but never more. I never trouble myself about the mode of expressing an idea, if I only get it fairly and clearly into my mind."

Continuing their conversation on the same subject, remarks were made on Mr. Bright's preparation for the platform:—

I said that Bright did prepare carefully the sentences and words of at least some portions of his speeches, as I had seen his notes when I was with him at Birmingham on the occasion of his first appearance in public after his election. "Oh, yes," said Mr. Cobden, "Bright has to work up to a certain standard, for he has acquired the reputation of a great orator, to which I have never aspired. He elaborates his perorations, but I have never in my life thought of how I should finish a speech. And Bright is naturally an orator. With the exception of Gladstone, I don't think there is a man in the House of Commons equal to him." I told him that the first time I had heard Bright was at a meeting at Peckham during one of the great Anti-Corn Law Conferences in London, when the members used to go to hold meetings in the suburbs. He and George Thompson came. There was a goodly number of persons present, but they had come to hear Thompson, as Bright was at that time totally unknown in our region. But though he did not speak with the fluency that he does now, I was extremely struck with the force of intellect and language which he displayed. "Well," said Mr. Cobden, "the first time I ever heard Bright was at a school meeting in Rochdale. I was trying then to agitate a little on behalf of popular education, and went over from Manchester to attend a meeting there. He was then a very young man, and made a speech. It was highly rhetorical and declamatory, all

about Rome and Palmyra, but there were evident indications of his natural aptitude for oratory. I remember his father, old Jacob Bright, drove me in his carriage to Manchester next day, as he was going there to attend the market or something. I said to him, 'Your son John will make an orator; you should encourage him, and give him an opportunity to practise.' 'Oh, no, no, no,' said the old gentleman, shaking his head, 'he must attend to business, he has got to look after the mills.'"

One day Mr. Richard having some writing to do for the *Herald of Peace*, Mr. Cobden looked over the last number of that periodical, and seeing the full report of the Emperor's letter of invitation to the Powers of Europe to hold a Congress to consider the question of mutual disarmament, remarked:—

"How admirably it is written! He is a great master of style. When I wintered at Cannes, I met Bunsen there, who had seen a good deal of poor De Tocqueville, who had died there a little before. Indeed, Bunsen had been with him continually. He told me that De Tocqueville, though far enough from having any love for the Emperor, spoke in terms of great admiration of his style. 'He is the only man living,' he said, 'who can write *monumental French*.'" *

Under date December 1, Mr. Richard records a conversation *àpropos* of the disastrous Imperial expedition to Mexico:—

In the evening had a long conversation with Mr. Cobden after

* A similar remark occurs in a letter written to Mr. W. Hargreaves, dated April, 1860, to which Mr. Cobden adds the following: "It is, I suppose, the consciousness of the possession of this talent, so greatly appreciated in France, which leads him to come before the public in print; for, if he be taciturn in oral communications, the quality assuredly does not attach to his pen. But when we have praised his style, we have expressed the best that can be said of his volumes. The address announcing his intended marriage as a *parvenu*, and giving his reasons for making choice of a private individual for his wife, is the most striking of all for the ingenuity and boldness of his argument, and the beauty of its composition."—Morley's "Life of Cobden," p. 352.

the family had retired. I asked him if he could give me any rational explanation of the Emperor of the French's expedition to Mexico. "No," he said, "I really cannot explain it. It is the greatest blunder that he ever made, and it has very much shaken my faith in his sagacity. I suppose those agents from Mexico deceived him as to the state of feeling in that country. And Slidell, no doubt, also encouraged him, in the hope that ultimately the Mexican invasion would lead to a diversion in favour of the South. I write constantly to Michel Chevalier and Arles Dufour, and sometimes Rouher, and I know that by that means my sentiments become known to the Emperor. He has told them that he is always glad to know my views on any political questions. Well, I have expressed myself pretty freely on this Mexican business. He talks about upholding the influence and power of the Latin race. But it is preposterous to apply that term to the Mexicans. They are a mongrel race of cross-breeds, Spaniards and Indians and Negroes, and I suppose the most degraded community in the world. If they are ever to be regenerated, it must be by Divine Providence, not by French Zouaves." He told me some facts which had been narrated to him by some Scotch gentlemen whom he had met on board ship returning from Mexico, showing a degree of social degradation almost incredible among the Mexicans. "We are come, sir," was the concluding expression of one of those gentlemen, "from a country in which all human virtue is extinct." "During the Exhibition last year," Mr. Cobden said, "I had a long conversation with Prince Napoleon on the subject. I saw him one evening in the gallery of the House of Commons, and went and sat with him for some time. I told him frankly that I thought the Emperor had made a great mistake in the Mexican expedition. 'Well,' he said, 'I was quite opposed to it from the beginning. But, at any rate, we were more logical than you. Having gone to Mexico to seek redress for certain wrongs, we did not retire without receiving any guarantee that our objects would be accomplished.'"

The following entry relative to the working of the Land Laws in Sussex appears under date December 2nd:—

Had a long walk with Mr. Cobden before dinner. He took me

through his own little estate, which consists of only about 160 acres, as I understood him, and which he does not farm himself He talked about the tenure of land in this country, and said that the law of primogeniture and entail hardly existed now in any country in Europe but our own. In France and Germany the land had long been divided, and even in Spain they are breaking up the large estates of the hereditary nobility. I have (he said) ample opportunity of witnessing the operation of this law or custom which prevails in England. I am just at the junction of three large estates—that of Lord Leconfield, Lord Egmont, and the Duke of Richmond. I could take you for twenty miles in this county without passing beyond these three estates. There are eleven miles of wall around the park of Lord Leconfield, all of which, of course, is withdrawn from cultivation, and given up merely to herds of deer. And the land is constantly passing into fewer hands. Any man of small means who may be desirous of purchasing a piece of land has not the smallest chance; for when any farm, or other piece of land, is known to be for sale, these great proprietors instantly step in and offer such prices as no one else can compete with. And they can make advances to people who have no intention to sell, and tempt them by such tenders as they cannot resist, so that the smaller landowners are more and more disappearing, their land going to swell the colossal estates of a few great magnates. And everything is done to encourage this tendency. Lord Leconfield, I believe, *is* a worthy, amiable man, and a very good landlord. But he *was* a man who had distinguished himself in no way whatever, and yet he was made a peer, simply because he had a landed estate of some £100,000 a year. One can understand and sympathise with the sentimental reluctance felt to see an old family like that of the Earl of Derby, for instance, diminished in power and influence by having their estate divided. The sourest Radical would feel some regret at seeing an ancient house like that disappear from the place it has so long occupied. But it is impossible to have the same feeling towards the illegitimate offspring of a man of fashion like Lord Egremont. . . . There is a superstition in this country about land which exists in no other country in the world. You can hardly refer to it at all without having the cry raised against you of agrarian Socialism. He then referred to the few words he and Bright had said on the subject at Rochdale, and the sort of panic

some of the papers had in consequence attempted to raise. "But we neither of us attempted to say anything half so strong on the subject as Adam Smith, and on our return to the house he read me a passage from 'The Wealth of Nations' on the law of primogeniture and entail, and then laughingly remarked, 'If Bright had said that, how he would have been branded as an incendiary and Socialist!'"

The following story about Sir William Hayter and his peregrinations to feel the pulse of Ministers-expectant, is told under date Dec. 3:—

I read to Mr. Cobden a letter I had written for one of the Dissenting papers on the policy which the Nonconformists ought to pursue at the next general election. In this letter I had contended that unless we broke through the sort of superstitious allegiance we had always shown to the Whigs, and insisted upon making the recognition of some of the questions in which we, as Nonconformists, are interested, a condition of our future support of what is called the great Liberal party, we should be treated hereafter, as we had been heretofore, with indifference, if not with contempt. I had enforced this view by showing that almost every popular measure since the time of the Reform Bill had been carried by the parties who had agitated for them, resolutely refusing to subordinate them to the party convenience of the Whigs. I had specified the Abolition of Slavery, and of the Apprenticeship Act, and of the Corn Laws. Mr. Cobden cordially approved of the letter, and said I ought to add to my list the abolition of the taxes on knowledge by Milner-Gibson, and Bright and himself. "I will give you an illustration of that," he said. "When Sir Robert Peel's Ministry was broken up, and Lord Aberdeen's Government was in course of formation, I remember well, on one dismal foggy morning in the winter of 1853, Hayter drove up to my house in Westbourne Terrace. He 'hummed' and 'hahed' a good deal, and seemed to feel considerable difficulty in opening his business. I said to him, 'Now, Hayter, I know what you are come about. It is about the formation of the new Government. I will save you all embarrassment by saying at once that I am looking for no office, and if you gave me the choice of every office at your disposal, I should decline it without the smallest hesitation.

'Well,' said Hayter, evidently greatly relieved, 'that is devilish handsome. You can't conceive what difficulty we have with fellows. Every man wants some office for which he is not fit, and it is impossible to satisfy the pretensions of all.' 'But stop a moment,' I said, 'though I want nothing for myself or for anybody connected with me, I have one condition to make on which alone I can promise my support to the Government. I will say nothing at present on the question of organic reform, as this perhaps is not the time to urge that question. But you know there are a few of us who are deeply interested in the repeal of the taxes on knowledge; and if your new Government does not take this subject up in earnest, I give you warning that I shall feel myself at liberty to oppose you with anybody who will join with me in an attack on those taxes.' Hayter admitted that my conditions were moderate and fair. And we afterwards acted on this principle. Milner-Gibson carried his motion [for the repeal of the advertisement duty], which gave us our first instalment of the measures we were contending for, by accepting the support of Tory votes irrespective of the Ministers' convenience, and the consequence was that they had ultimately (though they did it with a very bad grace) to adopt the measure."

Many pages of Mr. Richard's diary are taken up with conversations relative to the *Times* and its editor. The whole subject is treated with great fulness in Mr. Morley's "Life of Cobden," but it may be supplemented by a few extracts. On the 4th of December Mr. Richard was reading an article in the *Times* of the preceding day, which incidentally referred to the "satisfaction with which the poor might regard Mr. Bright's proposition for a division among them of the lands of the rich," already referred to in a preceding extract. He read it out to Mr. Cobden, who was very indignant and excited. It was urged by his friend that such imputations should not be allowed to pass unchallenged, for multitudes of people regarded the *Times*

as an oracle, and would gravely believe a charge like that. "Why doesn't Bright take it up?" asked Mr. Richard. After a pause Mr. Cobden said, "I have a great mind to take it up myself. It will come better from me, perhaps, than from Bright, as he is the person inculpated." After a while he retired into his library, and having myself occasion about half an hour later to go into the same room to consult some book, he said to me, "Just come here and listen to this." He then read me the first sketch, hastily written in pencil, of the letter to the *Times*, which produced so much sensation a few days after. In the course of the day he asked me to hear it again, and suggest any alterations, "for we must," he said, "make it as little vulnerable as we can." I proposed two or three changes, which he at once accepted.

The sequel is well known. The editor of the *Times*, on the plea that Mr. Cobden indulged in unfounded imputations, declined to insert the letter. Thereupon Mr. Cobden took the bold course of addressing the editor in person, to which communication Mr. Delane felt himself compelled personally to reply. The entire correspondence appears in Mr. Morley's biography, from which that author derives the conclusion that the interpretation by the *Times* of what had been said at Rochdale was "plainly unjust, heedless, and calumnious," and that Mr. Delane's attempt to explain away the imputation of violence and spoliation was "wholly unsuccessful." But this by the way. The question of the relations of the *Times* to the Government and the

public was the subject of frequent conversation between Mr. Cobden and his guest, but it is not necessary here to reproduce much that was said by the former, who told several stories as to the social influence exercised by Mr. Delane and his colleagues in the upper circles of society. One or two of these have already appeared in print. The following is, so far as we know, new :—

During the early part of Lord Aberdeen's Ministry, when the Eastern Question was being warmly discussed, but before the Crimean War had commenced, Mr. Cobden was at a grand dinner party given by Sir William Molesworth. Most of the members of the Cabinet, and many foreign Ministers were there. "I believe," said Mr. Cobden, "that the only persons present not belonging to the official class were Mr. Delane and myself. After the party had broken up, a few of us remained behind. I remember we were sitting together in a large recess window. There were Molesworth, the Duke of Newcastle, the Bishop of Oxford, the Duke of Argyle, and, I think, Mr. Delane and myself. We were talking of the Eastern Question, when Delane turning to the Duke of Newcastle, said, 'I tell you, Duke, if the Government yield to the clamour of these pot-house politicians for war, it will not be long before the same people will be clamouring no less loudly for your heads.' I had expressed myself pretty freely on the folly of going to war for the Turks. And as Delane and I were descending the stairs together in going away, he said, 'You really should express those sentiments in the House.' 'I mean to do so,' was my reply, 'and if I do, you will attack me in the *Times*.' And so it happened. For shortly after this, the *Times*, which, as you remember, had been writing violently against the Turks, suddenly turned round and clamoured for war, and, of course, I and all who were in favour of peace were furiously attacked in its columns."

Mr. Richard naturally enjoyed this pleasant intercourse with his coadjutor in the cause of peace, who drove him about the country in his pony carriage, and

entertained him with stories about his neighbours. In one of these drives he pointed out a house once belonging to Lord Robert Spencer, where Fox and Sheridan, and the other Whig leaders of the day were in the habit of meeting. His lordship kept a good cook and a good cellar of wine, and they used to come down and spend weeks with him. At a sale there Mr. Cobden had bought a copy of Fox's history in which he found some autograph letters of that statesman, and these he sent to Lord John Russell.

In Lord Derby's Government of 1852 Mr. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He produced a curious Budget, which was fatal to the Administration, and was the occasion of the following remarks :—

Mr. Cobden spoke in terms of great admiration of the extraordinary versatility of power Disraeli displayed in mastering so completely all the details of our financial system, after his intellectual activity had been directed during the greater part of his life to imaginative and fictitious literature. He thought Peel himself never made a clearer or more masterly statement than was his speech on the Budget. But he deems Disraeli to be utterly unprincipled. He believes that for the sake of eminence and power he would not scruple to play any part whatever in politics. There is only one part, he added, laughingly, which he cannot attempt, and that is to take Sir R. H. Inglis's line and attempt to lead the religious party. He told me a curious anecdote about Disraeli. He has formed a sort of friendship for Bright, and on the night before the division on his Budget he sent for him to his own house, while the debate was going on in the House of Commons. Mr. Bright found him in a room in an upper storey, pacing about in a long and fantastic dressing-gown, looking at that midnight hour almost like a necromancer. He was preparing for the great effort he was to make the following night. It was not very easy to find what was his object in seeking the interview. But he talked in a very free and confidential tone about his own

feelings on the political crisis. "If," he said, "I could only get safely over the division on the Budget, I think I can see my way clear." He then seemed to intimate that he had certain great projects in contemplation. "But it's no use. I suppose we must go out. Well," he exclaimed, "I *have* been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I have led the House of Commons; no one can take that from me." One remark he made reveals the kind of influence brought to bear by the naval and military circles on Ministers of State. "You can't conceive," he said, "how much I am bothered by these damned services; there's no satisfying them."

The following was the result of a conversation Mr. Richard had with Mr. Cobden in July, 1861. The story has been told elsewhere, though perhaps not so fully:—

Mr. Cobden told me that before he went to France, he called, in the first instance, upon Gladstone, Lord John, and Lord Palmerston to explain the purpose that was in his mind, of trying to persuade the French Government to abandon its restrictive policy and negotiate with England for greater freedom of trade. The first entered into the subject with great interest. Lord John never seemed to give it a thought, but, after some commonplace remark betokening the most utter indifference, turned the conversation to something else. Lord Palmerston, to do him justice, though evidently not feeling much interest in the matter, did nevertheless talk about it seriously with him for five or ten minutes. "But I will tell you," he said, "a curious anecdote of what happened at that interview, which will show you the sort of influence by which men even in that position are befooled. I asked Palmerston, 'What do you really think of that man over the water?' referring to Louis Napoleon. 'Well,' said he, tossing his hands up in his jaunty fashion, 'I can hardly say. Certainly, for the eight or nine years he has been at the head of affairs in France, nothing could have been more straightforward and apparently friendly than his conduct towards us. But still there are circumstances which are suspicious. For instance, we have just received information from our Consul at Nantes that he is building in that port some 80 or 100 flat-bottomed boats evidently adapted to effect a landing on a

shallow beach.' 'Well,' said Mr. Cobden, 'of course I could say nothing to that, as I had no means of refuting the allegation. But when I went to France, the very first man I met there—he mentioned his name, but I forget it—adverting to the foolish apprehensions that prevailed in England, and especially to the talk that was then rife of making coal a contraband of war, and of preventing its export to France because it furnished the French with the means of working their steam navy, said that the Emperor had been so provoked by this kind of language that he was determined not to have any foreign coal at all for the use of the fleet. There is plenty of coal, added this gentleman, in France along the valley of the Loire and elsewhere, and the Emperor has just ordered some sixty or seventy boats to be built for the purpose of carrying coal along the canals, etc. Well, I thought, these most likely are Lord Palmerston's flat-bottomed boats. Having occasion to go and see a friend at a place about half way to Nantes, I persuaded him to accompany me there. We were received and entertained most handsomely by the leading merchants of the town. I spoke to them about these boats, and the apprehensions they excited in England. They laughed most heartily, and begged me to go and see them. But I first called upon the Consul, and inquired about them. He rather fought shy of the subject. At last, however, he went with me to see one of these boats, which lay in the canal, laden with coal. It was an iron box (made of cast-iron) oval at both ends, flat-bottomed, so that if it had touched the ground nothing could have moved it, with no means of steerage; in short, a thing adapted only for river or canal navigation, and which would have been wholly useless anywhere else. And yet these were actually the boats that created such alarm in England, and were regarded by some as conclusive proofs that Louis Napoleon was proposing the invasion of this country!'"

On the same occasion there was a conversation *àpropos* of Lord John Russell's last speech in the House of Commons, in which he referred to the alleged intention of France to annex Sardinia, in the course of which Mr. Cobden said the Emperor had told him

that at the meeting at Plombières there was a regular bargain with Cavour that, in certain contingencies, Nice and Savoy should be surrendered to France. Mr. Cobden went on to refer to a correspondence he had had with Lord John when he was in France:—

When Lord Palmerston made that extraordinary speech on the question of the fortifications, in which he said that the only way to keep peace with France was to arm against her to the utmost, Mr. Cobden was in the very midst of the negotiations for the Commercial Treaty, to which the men here, under whose authority he was acting, never seemed to give a thought. When that outrageous speech was delivered, he wrote to Lord John to remonstrate, and intimated that it was of small use his going on with the work in which he was engaged, if the English Ministers were intent upon flinging such gratuitous insults at the French Government. I knew before that he had written such a letter, for he had sent a copy to a friend in England, with a request that he would show it me. I now asked him if Lord John had replied. "Yes," he said, "and you never saw such a letter in your life. His answer to my remarks were of the vaguest description, and yet most arrogant in their tone. He talked of Lindsay and myself as allowing ourselves to be made tools of by the French Emperor, and sent me a quotation from Macaulay's history about Louis XIV. writing to his ambassador in this country to persuade the people against having a standing army. It so happened that I received his letter as I was going to Algiers, but as I had all the necessary documents and references at hand, I wrote him a pretty sharp answer. I told him we need not go back so far as the time of Louis XIV. for examples of men in office trying to put down independent members of Parliament who were endeavouring to do their duty to their country by imputing to them dishonourable motives, or something to that effect. But, said Mr. Cobden, what I wanted particularly to say to you to-day is this—that Gibson is deeply occupied with this question of the armaments. I was at the marriage of his daughter the other day, and he took that opportunity of speaking with me on the subject long and earnestly. He is very uneasy and uncomfortable, and no wonder, for things are taking a direction so

utterly opposed to the views he advocated when out of office. He has hitherto tried to calm his conscience with the Commercial Treaty and the Repeal of the Paper Duties. But he is far from satisfied. He says there is an element in the Cabinet that would strenuously sustain a movement tending to an understanding with France for a mutual reduction of armaments. But I objected that nothing could be done while Palmerston was in office. 'Oh! I don't know about that,' said Gibson; 'the old man has no prejudices, and if he thinks it would tend to keep him in office, I believe he would entertain it, for I assure you he has no idea of dying or retiring.'"

Mr. Cobden died in 1865, two years after the visit above referred to. His cordial friendship with the Secretary of the Peace Society is attested by the fact that Mrs. Cobden requested Mr. Richard to write a biography of her illustrious husband, on which subject something is said in a subsequent chapter.

The correspondence between Mr. Cobden and Mr. Richard was for many years frequent. The letters written by the latter, which have been placed in the hands of the author, mainly refer to the various phases of the Peace movement, and to the political topics to be dealt with in the leading articles of the *Star*, in which Mr. Cobden took a lively interest, looking to his friend to give the right tone to that newspaper. There are frequent references to passing political questions and leaders of parties, and to Mr. Richard's anxiety to retain Mr. Cobden's active assistance without any wish to regard him as directly identified with the Peace Society.

CHAPTER XI.

LETTERS ON WALES—MARRIAGE—ELECTION FOR MERTHYR.

In 1864 Mr. Richard was once again able to render a great service to his fellow-countrymen. During the early part of that year he published a series of letters in the *Morning* and *Evening Star* on the social and political condition of Wales. He was led to undertake this work by observing the lack of accurate knowledge as to the state of society in the Principality that existed in England, where there appeared to prevail a vague notion that the Welsh were a simple, warm-hearted, good-natured race, who talked a strange guttural jargon, and whom John Bull was called upon condescendingly to patronise. The impression created by the reports of the Education Commission—"those huge official libels"—some seventeen years before had by no means been effaced, and Mr. Richard again tried to be "an interpreter between Wales and England." In these fourteen letters Mr. Richard covered wide ground, and presented an array of authentic facts which showed to what good purpose he had kept up his acquaintance with the language and literature, and, through them, with the social and religious condition of his native land. The topics dealt with may be briefly indicated. In the

first letter it was shown how utterly the Church of England had failed in her duty as the moral and spiritual instructor of the Welsh nation ; in the second, that she had habitually and strenuously resisted the efforts made by others to supply her own lack of service ; and in the third, that this obstructive policy had gradually created a nation of Dissenters, as was proved by the Census returns in 1851. The author then describes the agencies which were the means of evangelising the people of the Principality, including some 3,000 places of worship erected at their own cost, indulges in some eloquent reminiscences of the great popular preachers who, in his boyhood, so powerfully wrought upon himself,* and points out the salutary influence exerted by class-meetings and Sunday schools largely composed of adults. The results of this experience were seen in the intelligence and mental activity of the population, as shown by the large stores of ancient literature in the vernacular, and the extent and variety of living literature in the shape of periodicals, dictionaries, commentaries, and other Scriptural works—Wales being a great customer to the Bible Society—while there was an "insatiable demand" for works of poetry and music, and a great sale for English as well as Welsh newspapers. In addition to the religious element as the chief factor in Welsh civilisation, the national mind had received a powerful impulse from institutions like the Eisteddfod, which were now spread over the whole face of the

* See quotation in Chapter I.

Principality, containing, according to Matthew Arnold, "a something which in the English common people is not to be found"; or to quote Bishop Thirlwall, a "national recreation in literature and music to be met with nowhere else." In this chapter there are some interesting illustrations of the musical genius of the Principality. Then by an array of varied facts of official authority, it is shown that the proportion of criminals to the population of Wales was forty-four per cent. less than in England, while nearly one-half of these were not natives of the Principality. With the charge of excess in illegitimacy brought against his countrymen, Mr. Richard fearlessly and exhaustively deals, disproving it by comparative statistics. But, as he says, "a community whose religious privileges and professions are so ample, ought to be able to show some fruits of positive and practical virtues;" and these were found in the well-known liberality with which the Welsh, even in the rural districts, support their religious and educational institutions—say, at a cost of a quarter of a million a year—though the gentry are almost exclusively Churchmen. The remaining topics discussed in the "Letters" are, the state of representation, the causes of its anomalies—such as the slow growth of interest in politics, and the influence of the clergy and gentry—and there is a most vivid and bold picture of the political supremacy of Welsh landlords. The facts stated in these chapters, though no doubt true at the time (1864), are now almost an anachronism, so great has been the political revolution effected in the

Principality in the last twenty years, in which Mr. Richard was the prime mover.

These letters, of which the vigorous argument, the play of fancy, the wealth of illustration, and the keenness of sarcasm, must be studied in the original, created a wide-spread impression on both sides the border. They were published in a separate form, reproduced in the Welsh language, and were the subject of approving resolutions at a large number of meetings in Wales, and among the Welsh in England. Some years later (1873) at the Eisteddfod at Mold, Mr. Gladstone went out of his way to give the following striking testimony as to their effect on himself:—"I will frankly own to you (he said) that I have shared at a former time, and before I had thus acquainted myself with the subject, the prejudices which prevail to some extent in England and among Englishmen, with respect to the Welsh language and antiquity; and I have come here to tell you how and why I have changed my opinion. It is only fair that I should say that a countryman of yours, a most excellent Welshman, Mr. Richard, M.P., did a great deal to open my eyes to the true state of the facts by a series of letters which, some years ago, he addressed to a morning journal, and which he subsequently published in a small volume, that I recommend to the attention of all persons who may be interested in the subject."

The close of 1866 was a turning point in Mr. Richard's personal history. On the 20th of December in that year he married Augusta Matilda, third daughter of Mr.

John Farley, of Kennington. The interesting ceremony, at which his friend the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown officiated, took place in Stockwell Congregational Church. The newly-married couple had for many years known each other as friends, their tastes, aspirations, and religious convictions being in thorough harmony. The union proved to be the happiest event in Mr. Richard's life. The congratulations that poured in upon Mr. Richard from all parts of the Principality indicated the general interest felt by Welshmen in the domestic welfare of their favourite countryman. Though not then young, being fifty-four years of age, Mr. Richard was easily able, by reason of his amiable and unselfish temperament, to adapt himself to new conditions, as well as to win affection; and the devotion of the wife to the husband during the twenty-two years of their wedded life could not fail to be noticed by all who knew them. Mrs. Richard identified herself heart and soul with her husband's public and private interests, accompanied him, if possible, in all his journeys, and when his health became enfeebled in after-years, redoubled her solicitude, and would hardly allow him to venture out unattended by herself. In all probability her thoughtful and continuous care greatly prolonged his life. It is not surprising that so true a help-meet shared the popularity of her husband in the Principality. "Her pleasant face," says one writer, "was as familiar to Welsh audiences as that of Mr. Richard, and as long as the one is remembered, the other will not be forgotten."

At first Mr. and Mrs. Richard lived at Tottenham,

but subsequently removed to Clapham Road, during which time they enjoyed the ministry of the Rev. J. B. Brown, at Brixton Congregational Church.

The Conference held by the Liberation Society, described in Chapter IX., had been so successful as to suggest a more complete organisation of the Principality. An influential committee was formed in North as well as in South Wales, and thus prepared the way in both divisions for a series of meetings with a view to organise local and electoral action. Mr. Richard, Mr. Miall, and Mr. Carvell Williams, the indefatigable Secretary of the Society, were appointed a deputation to visit Wales in the autumn of 1866. One of these assemblies was held at Aberayron, in Cardiganshire. That county was then represented by Sir Thomas Lloyd, and many of the dissatisfied Nonconformists were anxious to nominate as their candidate at the ensuing election Mr. Henry Richard, who had, as we know, strong local claims. In the course of one of his speeches, Mr. Miall, after deprecating the re-election of their present member as an unreliable man, went on to say :—"Take nobody as your representative but one in whose soundness of character you have implicit reliance—one who has sympathy with you in your objects, one who has earnestness of desire to promote those objects, one who is worthy of your suffrage. Here (turning to Mr. Richard) is your man. You have heard him to-day expound the objects you have in view. What would we give to hear such an exposition in the House of Commons!" It would have been strange if the

suggestion had not been welcomed with enthusiastic applause.*

Mr. Richard did indeed shortly after stand for his native county, but was not destined to sit for it. There were already two Liberals in the field, and it was represented to him that if he persisted a Tory might be returned. For this reason he withdrew, but in a subsequent address to the electors he stated that the many proofs of enthusiasm in his favour which he had received convinced him that, had he maintained his candidature, he would have been triumphantly returned.

In the next electoral attempt there was no element of uncertainty. No sooner was there a prospect of an additional member being given to Merthyr, than the Nonconformists and Liberal electors there resolved that Henry Richard should have the new seat. The General Election took place in September, 1868, but as early as a twelvemonth before a deputation from public meetings in Merthyr and Aberdare waited upon Mr. Richard in London to present the resolutions which had been adopted, declaring that he was a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament. The new Parliamentary borough consisted of Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare, Hirwain, and Mountain Ash, the constituency

* It is worthy of note that at one of the Conferences referred to, held at Denbigh, Professor Goldwin Smith, who was spending his vacation in the neighbourhood, came forward to avow his sympathy with the movement. "It is," he said, "because I am a faithful son of the English Church that I am a hearty and avowed enemy of the Establishment. I do not advocate anything violent or precipitate in a matter so unspeakably momentous; but I am convinced that, unless the Establishment dies, the English Church cannot live."

of 1,300 becoming, by the Reform Act of 1867, some 13,000, mostly miners and colliers. Mr. Richard hesitated to accept the flattering invitation until he had in person met the constituency, but, after attending five crowded public meetings, and explaining his views on political questions, he received enthusiastic votes of confidence, and such promises of support as already assured for him a safe seat. He all the more promptly obeyed the call of Merthyr, and of Wales generally, because the great question at issue at the election was the disestablishment of the Irish Church, on which Mr. Gladstone had just defeated the Derby Government—a question, too, on which the people of the Principality, who were suffering from a like grievance, hardly less intolerable, felt the keenest interest. The circumstances of Merthyr were, however, peculiar. The sitting member was the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, formerly Vice-President of the Council, a steady-going moderate Liberal, and much respected throughout the neighbourhood. He decided to stand again. But the large employers of labour could not brook the candidature of a Nonconformist minister, and seemed to think they could carry both seats. Without regard to politics they rallied to the support of Mr. Fothergill, the managing director of one of the largest ironworks of the district, who also flew the Liberal flag. Although each candidate stood independently, the contest was conducted without recourse being had to the usual electoral devices, such as intimidation, personalities, and treating. A great wave of enthusiasm swept over the constituency, and it was

manifest from the first that the newly-enfranchised working men intended to carry in the candidate of whom they were so proud at the head of the poll, leaving the second seat to be scrambled for by the other two. Great meetings were held in support of Mr. Richard, sometimes in halls and often on the hill-sides outside the town, and against his wishes the popular feeling found vent in bonfires, fireworks, and torchlight processions, and even in dragging by hand the carriage of the protesting candidate from place to place. At that time, though the ballot only "loomed in the distance," the result of the open voting of the Merthyr constituency was as follows:—

Mr. Henry Richard	11,667
Mr. Richard Fothergill	7,613
Right Hon. H. A. Bruce	5,797

These figures tell their own story. A majority of four thousand on a first election is almost unprecedented, and was well nigh the highest on the polls of 1868. Throughout the Principality the return of Mr. Richard was celebrated as a national triumph, and from the first he was regarded as "the Member for Wales." The defeat of Mr. Bruce was unexpected, and generally deplored. It was brought about by the scornful treatment of Mr. Richard's supporters, not only by Mr. Fothergill's friends, but by those of Mr. Bruce (himself holding aloof), who thought that somehow their favourite would come in. They were left in the lurch, though a great number of Mr. Richard's adherents gave their second vote to Mr. Bruce. But that statesman bore his

reverse magnanimously, and ever retained a great regard for Mr. Richard. The right honourable gentleman afterwards secured a seat for Renfrewshire, became Home Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's administration, and was subsequently raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Aberdare.

What greatly enhanced Mr. Richard's delight at the turn of political events was the election of so many tried Liberals with himself for the Principality. Instead of there being seventeen indifferent Liberals, who on Nonconformist questions were generally absent from the House, there were now twenty-three adherents of a thoroughly Liberal policy—including, for the first time, three Dissenters—most of whom were to be depended upon to vote straight. Included in the Welsh brigade were Mr. Dillwyn, an old member always true as steel; Mr. Osborne Morgan who, down to the present time, has been an able and reliable supporter of Liberal principles and Welsh claims; Mr. E. M. Richards, who was an uncompromising Nonconformist, and the ever-ready coadjutor of the senior member for Merthyr in all good work; Colonel Stepney; Mr.—afterwards Sir—Hussey Vivian; Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Mr. C. R. Talbot (now the father of the House); the Hon. W. O. Stanley; Mr. Hanbury Tracy; Mr. Jones Parry; and Mr. Whalley. There was also the added satisfaction of seeing victory achieved along the whole line. Mr. Gladstone came into power with the magnificent majority of about 120, including no less than 95 supporters of religious equality, of whom 63 were Protestant Nonconformists.

The list did not comprise Mr. Miall, but a few months later he was returned for Bradford, and took his seat beside his honourable friend the member for Merthyr.

The speeches of Mr. Richard during the Merthyr election were weighty, pungent, and lively, and, it need hardly be said, devoid of claptrap. In one of them, delivered at the Drill Hall, he adverted to one or two personal questions which illustrate his effective style of argument when put on his mettle. Refusing to attack any man, or to allude to either of the gentlemen whom he regarded, not as opponents, but as competitors for the *second* seat, he replied to the charge that he was a stranger. If that meant that he lived some 160 miles from Merthyr he must plead guilty. He was not always able to meet them and put a finger in their hand while having no sympathy with their innermost and most sacred feelings. Did he obtrude himself on the people of Merthyr? No, they did him the honour of seeking him out, and saying, "Come, we think you possess certain qualifications to represent us in the House of Commons?" And why?

"You knew me. You knew that though my lot was cast in London, yet I had been loyal in heart to the old land of my birth, the scene of my childhood's joys, and the place of my fathers' sepulchres; you knew that I had never missed an opportunity to do what I could to promote the religious, educational, and political interests of my country; and you knew that I had done all in my power to repel the base and groundless calumnies by which our national reputation had been defamed. And I think I know you. I have kept up my acquaintance with our old language and flourishing literature. I know your many social and religious virtues. I know, and have had pleasure in proclaiming the fact in the presence

of Englishmen, that you here, out of your abundant poverty, when you have been neglected by those who ought to have taken charge of your spiritual interests, have provided a more perfect machinery for religious instruction than is to be found in any other part of the empire."

Then he was somewhat contemptuously described as a preacher—

"Yes," said Mr. Richard, "I am a preacher and the son of a preacher. I know no occupation and no name more honourable. Some of the best and greatest men the world ever saw—far better and greater than those who sneer at the name—have belonged to that profession. Martin Luther, Las Casas the great apostle of the Indians, John Wesley, George Whitfield, Thomas Chalmers, Robert Hall, Wm. Ellery Channing, were preachers; and one infinitely greater than they all, whose name I will not profane by introducing it on this occasion, came to preach liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to those that were bound. I cannot help thinking that it has been bad tactics on the part of my opponents to fling this word as a reproach at me—of all places in the world—in the Principality. Welsh people know that they owe much—almost everything—to their preachers."

Again, it was alleged that he was not a rich man, and there, he said, they had hit the bull's-eye. He held that the lack of wealth was a real qualification, for there were already too many rich men in the House of Commons, by reason of which their taxation was so enormous. He denied that the rich alone were qualified to legislate for the poor, any more than the poor for the rich. The above quotations and others that might be given, not only attest the loftiness of Mr. Richard's ideal, and the moral influence of his eloquence, but his electioneering skill in the best sense of the word. It is certainly

remarkable that the only *new* seat for Wales should have been reserved for its foremost champion.

Mr. Richard retained his seat for Merthyr to the end of his days—twenty years—his majorities, whenever there was a contest, being overwhelming. When possible he paid an annual visit to the electors, and always received a hearty vote of confidence. Once or twice, when unable to render such active service as at an earlier period, he offered to resign; but his constituents would not hear of it, and declared that he held the seat for life. His expenses were always paid by friends among his constituents.

Most of the Liberal members for Wales were present at a congratulatory banquet given at the Freemasons' Tavern in February, 1869, when the session opened. Mr. Bruce, though no longer a Welsh member, had engaged to preside, but was at the last moment summoned to Osborne, and regretted his absence all the more, as it deprived him of the opportunity of showing that his interest in the affairs of the Principality, and his desire to promote the welfare of its population, had not, in the slightest degree, diminished. In his absence Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, now Lord Brabourne, took the chair, and amongst the speakers were Lord R. Grosvenor, Mr. Morley, and Mr. Miall; the last-named remarking that they were celebrating the fact that Wales had found her tongue though as yet she only spoke in syllables. Mr. Richard referred to the use of the landlords' screw, which had

excited so much indignation in Wales, and would perhaps lead to the sweeping away of the Tory party in the Principality altogether, and he mentioned the receipt in that room of a telegram, as to an occurrence which had excited indignation throughout Wales—the refusal of a Welsh clergyman near Menai-bridge to allow any Nonconformist minister to speak in the churchyard, in which the much-respected Rev. Henry Rees had been buried. He expressed a hope that the members around him would support the bill about to be introduced for throwing open the parochial burial-ground for Dissenting services. A banquet on a larger scale was also held at Colston Hall, Bristol, to celebrate the Liberal victories, at which Mr. Richard was one of the most conspicuous guests, and Mr. Morley and Mr. Mundella made elaborate speeches. The member for Merthyr said that he had only had a week's experience in the House of Commons, and thus far he had found it uncommonly dull, but he believed there was a larger proportion of earnest men there than in the last Parliament. He also paid a tribute of respect to their hon. member, Mr. Morley, with whom it had been his privilege to work for a quarter of a century in promoting the religious, educational, and social well-being of the people.

CHAPTER XII.

FIRST SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT.

THE period immediately preceding and succeeding Mr. Richard's entrance into Parliament was as much a golden era in the advance towards religious equality, as was the period from 1848 to 1851 the brightest in connection with the Peace movement. Political Nonconformists had been stimulated, mainly through the energetic action of the Liberation Society, to assert themselves in the constituencies, and their power on behalf of religious liberty was soon felt in the House of Commons; the commanding influence of Mr. Gladstone and other foremost Liberal statesmen being thrown into the scale. In 1858 the Jews were admitted to Parliament, and two years later the Edinburgh Annuity Tax was doomed, and the Grammar Schools were opened to Dissenters. Compulsory Church rates were abolished in 1868, after a protracted legislative conflict. Next year, after the general election which brought Mr. Gladstone into power as Prime Minister, with a large majority at his back, the Irish Church Disestablishment Act was passed—a political revolution and an important precedent. Greater facilities were also given for the admission of Dissenters into endowed schools, while 1870 witnessed the abrogation of University tests, and

the passing of the Elementary Education Act, which had its good as well as its bad features. Now and then there may have been some friction between the responsible statesmen who carried these measures for the extension of religious freedom and their supporters, but there they are inscribed in the statute book of the Realm; and in the retrospect of what was then accomplished in Parliament, Liberals and Nonconformists may well feel that they are under deep and lasting obligations to the illustrious Prime Minister who placed his all-powerful influence at their service. It was a brilliant chapter in the political history of the United Kingdom which should ever be held by them in lively remembrance.

Mr. Richard made his maiden speech in the House of Commons on Monday, March 22, 1869, during the debate on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, which, of course, he vigorously supported. He spoke as a representative of the Nonconformists of Wales, and with the authority of a man who had convictions and not mere opinions on the subject. It was, said the *Spectator*, a striking and eloquent speech, with the promise that Mr. Richard would take a position in the House and make himself heard and known. The Liberal Welsh newspapers expressed themselves as being proud of their representative, whose speech was well listened to even after the elaborate addresses of Sir Roundell Palmer and Sir John Coleridge. That the hon. member made a good impression and elicited hearty cheers was, said a local Merthyr paper, peculiarly

gratifying to his constituents.* The most effective part of his speech was that which referred to the success of voluntaryism in Wales. He asked whether the well-to-do Protestant landlords and farmers of the North of Ireland could not make as ample provision for their religious needs as the poor, persecuted, struggling people of the Principality. The facts he adduced on this subject appeared to make a great impression on the House, and his emphatic denial of the allegation of Mr. Gathorne Hardy [now Lord Cranbrook] that the Nonconformist chapels in Wales were mostly built by speculators, who got good interest for the investment, obliged that gentleman to admit that he had been, to some extent, misinformed. In concluding his address, Mr. Richard remarked that no Church that had been disestablished, and had tasted the sweets of freedom, ever wanted to go back to the "House of Bondage," and he predicted that if the free Irish Church set itself to do the work of evangelisation, relying upon the presence of its Great Master, it would a quarter of a century hence erect in honour of Mr. Gladstone, at present denounced as a confiscator and a spoliator, a monument on which would be inscribed "To the man who liberated the Irish Church."

When the Session of 1869 was considerably advanced, Mr. Richard found another much-desired opportunity of serving his oppressed fellow-countrymen on the floor

* Subsequently at the anniversary meeting of Cheshunt College, at which Mr. Richard presided, the Rev. Dr. Allon said that he heard the Chairman's first "Sermon" in the House of Commons, and it was an address that made him feel proud that one of his own cloth was there.

of the House of Commons. The landlords of the Principality were greatly enraged at their defeat in the polling booth, and the language they used at their "consolation banquet" was, said Mr. Richard, similar to that resorted to by the assembly of defeated heroes commemorated by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. But their anger was not restricted to words. That their tenants—mostly tenants-at-will—should presume to act independently in the choice of representatives was unpardonable in the eyes of the territorial magnates, and without hesitation or delay they were made to feel the iron hand of the owners of the soil. No less than two hundred notices of ejectment were served, after the election, upon tenants who had dared to give Liberal votes, and some of the cases involved much cruel hardship. A storm of indignation arose throughout the Principality, and it was resolved by the Welsh Liberal members to bring the subject before the House. To the new member for Merthyr was entrusted the responsibility of moving a resolution condemnatory of the conduct of the Welsh landlords.

Mr. Richard brought forward his motion at the evening sitting of the House on Tuesday, July 8th. There was a good attendance. Facing the hon. member was a phalanx of the very men whose offences he was about to expose. But with full command over himself and his materials, and sustained by his moral courage and high patriotic purpose, he spoke for about an hour with perfect self-possession and fervid eloquence. It was felt for the first time, on both sides of the House,

that Welsh Nonconformists had an adequate representative in Parliament. The resolution he proposed was as follows:—"That in the opinion of this House the proceedings of certain landlords in Wales towards their tenants, on account of their free exercise of the franchise at the late elections, are unprecedented and unconstitutional, and an infringement of the rights conferred by Parliament on the people of this country." Mr. Miall, who sat by his side, thus describes the scene:—

"Much that Mr. Richard told to the House must have been new to the ears of those who heard it, but simply because Wales has not, until now, sent a member fit in all respects to represent her. His description of the political and literary sympathies of the Nonconformists, or, in other words, the people, of the Principality, the depth and consistency of their political feelings, and the extent of their reading and their education, was listened to, we are afraid, with that sort of curious interest with which persons always listen to entirely new information. When the speaker proceeded to describe how education and political intelligence had spread amongst the people, but how the landlords could not, or would not, understand this, he hit upon what we believe to be the real secret of landlord intolerance. For if we were to get at the hearts of these men we should, no doubt, find them to be very little different from our own. But their feelings have been warped out of their normal course by the fact that they have for many generations past, and until very recently, naturally stood in a position in almost all respects superior to that of their tenants. Just now, we imagine, these positions are reversed. The statements of the member for Merthyr, given as they were with names, dates, and every proof of authenticity and truthfulness, made in calm language, and with no attempt at undue denunciation, with no violence of manner, tone, or temper—any of which would, under the circumstances, have been excusable—made a singular impression. Those on the Liberal benches who sat around Mr. Richard very soon acquired confidence, not only

in his strength, but in his case, while those who sat opposite were dismayed by the marshalled array of evidence which was brought forward against them. The speaker, so overwhelming were his facts, could well afford to be moderate. As he detailed case after case of almost unparalleled cruelty, as he told of conscience being overborne, of homes deserted, of fortunes lost, of the fruit of industry being thrown away, an indignant spirit arose. Once there was an attempt to sneer him down. This was when the speaker described how stalwart men, who were compelled to leave their homes, had been seen with tears in their eyes. Then the base and hardening influence of harsh and base actions was seen; for the recital excited in the Opposition, not disgust, but nothing but jeering laughter. When Mr. Richard sat down, it was felt that he had won his case. The Welsh landlords who rose to speak in opposition had nothing substantial to say in their defence. The moral sense of the House was against them, and they spoke perhaps even worse than they usually speak. It was not necessary to push the resolution to a division." *

The honourable member for Merthyr was well supported in the debate by his Welsh colleagues. Foremost amongst them was Mr. Osborne Morgan, who seconded the resolution, and who, while exonerating Sir Watkin Wynn (representing Denbighshire with himself) from undue influences, supplemented his friend's statements with regard to Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire,

* The following corroborative remarks as to Mr. Richard's address appeared in the *Illustrated Times*:– "It was not without misgiving that we set ourselves to listen to Mr. Richard. Will he be able to throw off 'The Little Bethel' style and manner? if not, he is a lost man. Whatever misgivings we had were in a few minutes dispelled. He spoke from the first bravely, vigorously, eloquently, without a taint of the conventicle in manner, tone, or language. He has only been in the House a few months, and yet he spoke as if to the manner born—nay, better than that, for he not only kept clear of the pulpit style, but also of the conventional tone and manner of the House of Commons, which, if we were not so used to it, would be almost as unpleasant. In short, he just spoke naturally; and to be able to do that is here and everywhere, and always has been, a rare accomplishment."

remarking that while nine landlords out of ten in Wales were Conservatives, ninety-nine out of every hundred tenants were Liberals. Mr. Leatham, Colonel Stepney, and Mr. E. M. Richards effectively supported the motion by citing cases of oppression that had occurred in other counties; but perhaps no one did more to show the necessity of the motion than Mr. Charles Wynn, a thoroughgoing landlord, who said that if Churchmen were Conservative, the obvious course for a Conservative landlord was to let his farms to none but Churchmen. Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, was very complimentary to his honourable friend the mover of the resolution, who had, he said, made a powerful and remarkable speech, and had proved that there were cases of great hardship, and that injury and loss had been inflicted on Welsh tenants in the most open manner, and in flagrant violation of what was just and honourable as between man and man. But he hoped Mr. Richard would be satisfied with the result already obtained. This appeal could not be resisted, and the motion was withdrawn.* Its immediate effect was the abandonment of a large number of the threatening notices of landlords.

The intimidation practised by Welsh landlords

* In only one case was there an attempt to question Mr. Richard's facts. A legal firm, writing on behalf of a gentleman owning large estates in South Wales, challenged the correctness of his allegations as to the eviction of one Caleb Morris, a tenant farmer. A correspondence ensued, the facts were substantiated in detail; and in reply to the remark that land in Wales was poorly cultivated, Mr. Richard said that it would be wonderful if it were otherwise, the farmer having neither security of tenure nor, in general, any compensation for such improvements as he might make by the use of his capital and labour.

became one of the chief topics of newspaper comment. nearly all the Liberal journals, even the most moderate, strongly condemning the oppressive acts exposed by Mr. Richard and his colleagues, pointing to the Ballot as the most effectual remedy, and hinting also at the need of a Tenant Right Bill for Wales. At that time there was a Select Committee sitting to take evidence as to the proceedings at elections, which eventually reported in favour of secret voting. The country had not long to wait before this remedy was formally proposed. Mr. W. E. Forster, in 1871, brought in the Government Ballot Bill, and it was carried through both branches of the Legislature, though in a somewhat mutilated form.

In the autumn of the same year (1869) the question of the relations of Welsh landlords and tenants assumed a more practical form. It was thought necessary that a fund should be started with a view to provide compensation to tenants who, at great pecuniary sacrifice, had been obliged to give up their farms. With this view a Committee was formed, and Mr. John Griffith ("Gohebydd")—an ardent Welsh politician—undertook to organise an association for the purpose, with the active assistance of Mr. Richard and Mr. E. M. Richards. Assessors were appointed to ascertain the losses in each county. They made their report to a general Conference held at Aberystwith on November 16th, delegates having been appointed throughout North and South Wales during the preceding week. There was a very influential and crowded attendance at the

Conference. Few Liberal M.P.'s were present, but most of them sent approving letters, and Mr. E. M. Richards presided. The first resolution was moved by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., who all through had shown the greatest interest in the movement; and a subsequent one was proposed by Mr. Richard, who was received with several rounds of applause. It proposed that a Guarantee Fund of £20,000 should be raised by means of subscriptions and by collections in every chapel in the Principality,* not only with a view to compensate sufferers, but to restrain those who were disposed to trample on the consciences of their fellow-men. In the course of his address he indignantly referred to the slanders upon the Nonconformist ministers of Wales which were then rife in the Tory papers, and expressed an earnest hope that in connection with this work of charity the pulpit would not be converted into a stage for political declamation. The Conference appointed committees for the respective counties, and several donations of £1,000 each were promised. At an overflow meeting in the evening, presided over by Mr. John Roberts, of Liverpool, Mr. Morley expressed his profound sympathy with the tenants who had suffered for having helped to give the leading statesman of Europe —"one of the most sincere, enlightened, and earnest men in England"—so large a majority in the House of Commons. This vigorous movement was not confined to Wales. There were great meetings in Liverpool

* This was Mr. Richard's own suggestion, as he wished his countrymen to show that, in the first instance, they were prepared to help themselves.

and Manchester, and an influential committee was formed in London to promote the eviction fund, with Mr. Morgan Lloyd for treasurer, followed by a final meeting at the Hanover Square Rooms in February, 1870; Mr. Richard, Mr. E. M. Richards, Mr. Serjeant Parry, and Mr. Osborne Morgan being the chief speakers.

The member for Merthyr soon found himself obliged to pay the penalty of success. His growing reputation in the House of Commons increased the demand for his services elsewhere. Then, as well as subsequently, his amiable nature induced him to undertake too much, and was often a cause of trouble. In the spring of 1869 his engagements comprised an address at the West Midland Sunday School Conference at Hereford, a speech at the annual meeting of the Liberation Society, presiding at a public breakfast to congratulate Mr. Miall, M.P., on his return for Bradford, assisting at the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, and later on taking the chair at the Cheshunt College anniversary. At the religious meetings he had a good theme in the relations of Christianity to universal peace; at one of them expressing his admiration for the volunteer army of some three hundred thousand Sunday school teachers, who, without beat of drum or any parade to attract the attention of society, go forth to meet not an imaginary, but a real enemy, and to do battle valiantly and earnestly with the foes of humanity—ignorance, irreligion, immorality, and vice, whose inroads amongst us, far more than those of French or Russians, we have a right to dread.

Towards the close of the summer, after a visit to his relatives in Cardiganshire, Mr. Richard attended the opening of the Memorial College at Brecon—an institution with which he had interesting personal associations—and on that occasion he delivered an address on "The Voices of the Fathers to their Ministerial Successors," and was followed by Dr. Rees on "Pulpit Power." To this college Mr. Morley, M.P., contributed more than £1,000, and although it cost about £10,000, it was opened almost free of debt. Several other papers were read, which Mr. Morley said illustrated the tremendous appetite of the Welsh people for sermons and speeches; and Mr. Binney, Dr. Kennedy, and Dr. Spence were there to assist in the services.

Most of the leading men who were at Brecon also attended the opening of an English Congregational church at Swansea, Mr. Morley, M.P., again presiding. The subject deserves mention here for two reasons. At that time the movement for supplying places of worship in the Principality for English immigrants was assuming large proportions, Mr. Morley having offered the magnificent sum of £10,000 for that object if ten per cent. was otherwise subscribed, and his challenge was being taken up in North as well as in South Wales. The honourable member for Bristol playfully suggested that this was necessary because the Welsh vernacular was gradually dwindling. This, however, Mr. Richard—who was, all the same, heartily co-operating with him in the chapel-extension scheme—was not ready to admit. Referring to an article in the *Saturday Review*, in which

it was said that the Welsh language resembled more the growl of a wild animal than the speech of a civilised people, he remarked :—"There were differences of opinion as to euphoniousness of language. When the donkey heard the nightingale sing, according to the fable, he thought him a poor performer, and believed his own bray was decidedly the more melodious. His own opinion of the Welsh tongue (and he often spoke it from the platform) was that it was

> 'Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute.'"

Meanwhile the Secretary of the Peace Society had not forgotten his earlier labours, and in the autumn—the terrible Franco-German War was then impending—in company with Mrs. Richard, he paid a visit to the Continent, of which he has given the following succinct account :—

Soon after Parliament rose I paid a visit to the continent of Europe, at the request of the Society with which I am associated. I visited France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, and Italy. My object was to get into communication, so far as I could, with leading members of the different Legislatures of these various countries, in order to ask them whether they would be prepared to bring forward a motion in their respective Chambers in favour of mutual and simultaneous disarmaments between the nations. I had the satisfaction of coming into contact with many intelligent men in all those countries, and the feeling of every man was the same—that the burden of these armaments was becoming utterly intolerable. There was a desire on all hands to do something to mitigate the terrible burden that was crushing the life out of the nations.

And what was the result of this visit of mine? In two or three weeks after I left Berlin, there was a motion introduced into the Chamber of that country proposing that the Government be

addressed by the Legislature, urging upon it the immediate reduction of armaments, and at the same time that it should communicate with the other Governments of Europe with a view to a general European disarmament. The motion was sustained by ninety votes. A similar motion was submitted to the Saxon Chamber at Dresden, and it was carried by a considerable majority. A similar motion was brought forward in the Chamber in Austria, and it was supported by a vote of fifty-three against sixty-four.

And when I came back to France I had the honour of meeting some of the distinguished men who now form the Provisional Government of that country. The International Peace League did me the honour of inviting me to a kind of banquet, and also invited those gentlemen to meet me to hear the result of my mission in Europe, and there I met, among others, M. Jules Favre and M. Jules Simon—two of the men who now form the Provisional Government—and sounded them as to the feeling in France, and it is a pleasure to me to have this opportunity of mentioning what M. Jules Simon said to me:—"I can give you the best possible answer to the inquiry by pointing to what took place at the last election" (there had been an election in France in the May preceding). "I examined carefully the addresses that had been issued by the various candidates for the suffrages of the French people, and in all of them—or in nearly all of them—the candidates, knowing the feeling that existed among the people of France, were obliged to put into their programme the promise to vote for a great reduction of the military establishment of France, and for the total abolition of standing armies." And M. Jules Favre told me that he was prepared to co-operate with me, and others in the different countries of Europe that had taken this matter in hand; and I have reason to believe that just before this suicidal war broke out, those gentlemen were preparing to submit a resolution to the Legislative Body of France in favour of universal European disarmament.*

* This statement was subsequently supplemented in an address on "The War and its Lessons" delivered at Manchester. Mr. Richard said that when Napoleon III. was deposed, the Provisional Government found among the State archives the replies to circulars that had been sent to the departments to ascertain the general feeling as to commencing hostilities with Prussia. Only eleven of the Prefects out of eighty-nine reported in the affirmative; the remaining seventy-eight stating that the people utterly condemned and execrated the idea.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT—THE EDUCATION, DISESTABLISHMENT, AND BALLOT BILLS.

THE Parliamentary session of 1870 was a memorable one. The elaborate Irish Land Bill, giving, for the first time, some security to the tenant, was passed that year, and Mr. W. E. Forster persuaded his somewhat reluctant colleagues to deal with the perplexing problem of national education. Prior to that had been introduced the University Tests Abolition Bill—at length a Government measure—under the auspices of the Solicitor-General (Sir John, now Lord, Coleridge), who had in previous sessions taken charge of it as a private member. Majorities of more than a hundred in the Commons did not protect it from the antipathy of the House of Lords, which was persuaded by the Marquis of Salisbury to refer the measure to a Select Committee, not, however, with a view to maintain the exclusion of Dissenters from University and collegiate honours, but to establish safeguards for religious teaching and worship. The proposal proved to be abortive, but it delayed the passing of the Bill for another year. Mr. Richard also actively supported Mr. Osborne Morgan in his Burials Bill, which was emasculated in a Select Committee, and subsequently obstructed and perforce abandoned, as

well as in his Sites for Places of Worship Bill, which, having passed the ordeal of a second reading by a majority of 111, made no further progress, and was withdrawn towards the close of the Session.

The first attempt to call attention to the condition of the Church Establishment in Wales was made on May 14th, when Mr. Watkin Williams moved a resolution proposing that the ecclesiastical endowments of the Principality should be applied to the support of a national and undenominational system of education in that part of the United Kingdom. The motion was brought forward without concert with the leaders of the disestablishment movement, who thought it precipitate and ill-timed, and took no pains to assist it. Mr. Williams defended his resolution on the ground that the Irish Church had been disestablished, and that the Church of England in Wales was a notorious failure. The member for Merthyr was intending to follow him, but was prevented by the sudden rising of the Prime Minister, who, having ingeniously assumed that in this respect England and Wales were indissoluble, dealt with the motion as an attack on the English Establishment, and, with calculated emphasis, he described that as "a national mischief," expatiated on the magnitude of such a task, and asked with rhetorical fervour what must be the engines, and what the artillery that would bring down that fabric to the ground. Mr. Watkin Williams was not allowed to withdraw his motion, and only carried with him into the lobby forty-five supporters. The Conservatives were delighted with Mr. Gladstone's

indication that he was not going to follow up his Irish Church policy. But the right hon. gentleman on this question, as on others, has vindicated his right to change his mind. On a larger view of the question, he has seen the justice and expediency of allowing the Welsh people to deal separately with the Church question in the Principality, and has now expressly promised to support disestablishment there.

A considerable part of the Session of 1870 was absorbed in lively, and sometimes acrimonious, debates on the educational problem. The Bill of Mr. W. E. Forster was introduced on February 17th, and on the motion for the second reading, on March 14th, Mr. Dixon moved, as an amendment, that no measure could be regarded as a permanent settlement which left the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities. The debate, which lasted over three evenings, revealed very serious differences on the Ministerial side. As the provisions of the Bill favoured the Established Church and Denominationalists generally, they were unsparingly condemned by Mr. Winterbotham in a masterly speech, and he was followed on the same side by Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Miall, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, Mr. Richard, Sir Charles Dilke, and other Liberals. At length Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to interpose. While vindicating the intentions of the Government, he promised that the clauses to which objection had been taken should be reconsidered, and that full justice should be done to minorities in every district. On this

assurance, Mr. Dixon withdrew his amendment, and the Bill was read a second time. Before going into Committee, the Prime Minister gave a sketch of the alterations proposed. These embraced, among other things, the abolition of inspection in respect to religious instruction, the adoption of a time-table conscience clause, the freedom of local boards to determine the question of religious teaching, and the exclusion from all elementary schools of catechisms or formularies "distinctive of any particular denomination." The denominational schools were also cut off from the rates, but were allowed as compensation an increased annual Parliamentary grant to the extent of fifty per cent. Further, it was provided that the building grants for "voluntary" schools should, after a short interval, be stopped, and that the election of School Boards should be by ballot.

These alterations, though considerable, did not satisfy the chief supporters of unsectarian education and religious equality. On the 17th of June, at their request, Mr. Richard moved the following amendment on the motion for going into Committee on the Bill:—"That the grants to existing denominational schools should not be increased, and that in any national system of elementary education, the attendance should be everywhere compulsory, and the religious instruction should be supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds." This resolution brought the religious difficulty immediately to the front, and revealed serious differences among the opponents of the Government

scheme. It had been preceded by an amendment moved by Mr. Vernon (now Sir William) Harcourt, which, however, he found it useless to press. The speech of the hon. member for Merthyr was described by an opponent as "temperate, conciliatory, and able," and his eulogy on the value of religious teaching extorted the admiration of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who, however, grumbled at the large concessions made to Nonconformists by the Government. It was not, said Mr. Richard, whether the children should receive a religious education, but how and by whom it should be given. The Government plan at present was a proposal by which everybody would be called upon to pay for the religious teaching of everybody else, and there was no adequate solution of the difficulty except by the adoption of secular education. Prussia, where dogmatic religious teaching prevailed, was the most irreligious country in the world, while the people of the United States, where secular education was the rule, were the most religious. He had no fear of the result in this country. Let the State give literary and scientific education, and leave religious instruction to home influences and to religious bodies. If the functions of the 50,000 clergymen and 350,000 Sunday school teachers were to be given over to the schoolmaster, why not give the latter a portion of the endowments of the former? The debate on the resolution extended over many evenings, and nearly all the leading men on both sides took part, including Mr. Forster, who spoke in a very conciliatory spirit. The

position taken by Mr. Richard was greatly weakened by the attitude of Mr. Morley, Mr. Baines, Dr. Playfair, Mr. Harcourt, and others on the Liberal side, who not only contended for the reading of the Bible, but for the teaching of religion in schools, though opposed to its enforcement. In the end, the amendment was rejected by 421 to 60 votes, the mass of the Conservatives supporting the Government.

The Bill, with few alterations, passed through the Committee in the amended form, as explained by Mr. Gladstone, and on the third reading on July 11, Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Richard entered a final protest against its strong denominational bias, which had already brought about the secession of Mr. Trevelyan from the Government. The member for Merthyr referred to the situation with some bitterness and sarcasm. He described the members of the Opposition as rushing into the open arms of Mr. Forster, and as being clasped in a fond embrace with a considerable effusion of tender sentiment; though on the Liberal side of the House they were less touched with the spectacle, having a suspicion that in that fond embrace, their interests were being betrayed. Even the Prime Minister had praised the Conservatives for their concessions, thus making them conscious of their own virtues. One of them had recommended the Vice-President of the Council to throw overboard the Nonconformists. The advice was superfluous. That was precisely what he had done.* Mr. Richard proceeded to show that,

* At this time Mr. Bright had resigned office, and was at Algiers in

although individual Dissenters might approve of the educational policy of the Government, there was not a single Nonconformist body in England and Wales that had not pronounced against the Ministerial scheme in its present form. The measure was, he said, being forced upon the country, and through that House in the teeth of the declared wishes and earnest remonstrances of the entire Nonconformist community, which formed one-half of the nation, and much more than one half of the Liberal Party. His right hon. friend, the Vice-President of the Council, was certainly, as he had threatened or promised, "cantering" over the education difficulty. But how was he doing it? Why, by mounting the good steed "Conservative," and charging into the ranks of his friends, and riding them down rough-shod. The right hon. gentleman would, no doubt, carry the Bill victoriously through Parliament, as a Government might carry any measure by using the votes of its adversaries to defeat the wishes of its friends, but he ventured to tell him with all respect, that one or two more such victories would be most disastrous in their influence on the future fate of the Liberal Party.*

consequence of his precarious health, or the aspect of the Education Question might have been different. On his return he made a speech so strongly condemnatory of the Bill as to lead to a correspondence with Mr. Forster.—See "Life of Mr. W. E. Forster," by Mr. Wemyss Reid.

* The writer of "The Inner Life of the House of Commons," in the *Illustrated Times*, after describing the rencounter between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Miall during the last stages of the education strife, refers also to Mr. Richard's attitude, and surmises that people will imagine that there was an impassable gulf between the Premier and his rebellious adherents. Not so, however. "Last Saturday," he says, "we had the pleasure of a steam-boat trip with the Cobden Club to Greenwich. Mr. Gladstone was

Mr. Richard's warning was prophetic. As time went on the great advantages conferred on the denominational system became increasingly apparent, while the irritating action of the celebrated 25th Clause—which did allow the rates to be expended upon denominational schools—and the great efforts of the clergy, often successful, to secure ascendency in the School Boards, further alienated Dissenters against the administration that had so greatly favoured the Established Church. The result was seen in the great overthrow of the Gladstone Ministry at the general election of 1874, which was in no small measure due to the lack of Nonconformist support.

The war between France and Germany was now being waged with terrible effect, and some endeavours had been made to induce the Government to take the side of the former Power; or, at least, to offer their mediation. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville declined to listen to any such proposals at that time, and the question was discussed in the House of Commons on the 1st of August. While applauding the "just, impartial, absolute, and dignified neutrality" of her Majesty's

in the boat, and the eloquent member for Merthyr, who, it will be remembered, had recently censured the Government as severely as Mr. Miall did, was there also. But did the Prime Minister and Mr. Richard scowl at each other? Not a bit of it. When Mr. Gladstone came aboard, the member for Merthyr was sitting quietly at the stern, and very soon after the arrival of the former, he quietly went up to Mr. Richard, cordially shook him by the hand, and then dropped down at his side and chatted with him. Mr. Miall was not there, but if he had been, he and the Premier, who had been the day before lungeing at each other in the lists, would have exchanged the same knightly courtesies. Such is the way with political combatants in the House; and ever may it be so!"

Ministers—as Mr. Gladstone phrased it—Mr. Richard strongly censured the emphasis laid by Mr. Disraeli and others on the defenceless condition of England, which induced him to ask what had become of their money; and he reminded the Government of the memorable opinion of Sir Robert Peel, who said that "if the House listened to the opinions of military men, who were naturally prejudiced on this subject, they would involve the country in an outlay that no revenue could bear."*

When the year was about to close the member for Merthyr paid a visit to his constituents. To the electors this custom was always a great treat; to their representative it was somewhat of a tax. He was indeed invariably received with enthusiasm, which was heightened by his frequent deviations into the Welsh language when speaking. But three or four addresses were expected; and the people of Aberdare, Mountain Ash, and Dowlais were naturally disappointed if they were not in this respect put on the same footing as those of Merthyr. Mr. Richard was, therefore, obliged to divide his address rather than repeat himself. At the Christmas visit in 1870 Mr. Richard had to review an eventful session, and evidently took great pains with his address. It was, said a local newspaper, one of the best he had delivered to his constituents, and the paper went on to say that they

* Before the Session closed, the Government asked for a vote of two millions and 20,000 men, on the plea that it was necessary to protect the smaller states, such as Belgium and Holland, whose independence we had guaranteed. There were only seven members to resist a demand which Mr. Richard declared to be absurd and extravagant.

were proud of their senior representative, who during two years had commanded an amount of influence and respect in Parliament such as his most sanguine friends could hardly have expected. In the course of his speech Mr. Richard paid a high tribute of praise to the ability, vigilance, skill, and courage of Mr. Osborne Morgan, who had charge of the Sites for Places of Worship Bill and the Burials Bill. What he said at one of these meetings about the education question is perhaps worth quoting, even at this distance of time:—

The first edition of the Bill I liked better than the second, for under that there was a possibility of bringing all the schools of the country—those that are called denominational as well as the new ones to be established—under the cognisance and direction of the School Board, and so in process of time I thought it would be possible to have a uniform and universal system of national education; and I believe it would have been a great advantage for young Englishmen and Welshmen to be brought together on the forms of the same schools to learn certain things in common, without having thrust on them the sectarian differences by which society is racked. It seems to me that the new form of the Bill established a complete and lasting distinction between two kinds of schools in the country—the denominational schools and those that were to be under the School Boards; and with reference to the latter, the Bill gave to the Boards the power of dealing with the question of religious instruction, with no protection whatever for the rights of conscience except such as were afforded by the clause forbidding the catechism to be taught in the schools. That is not an adequate protection, because in hundreds of parishes in the rural districts of England the Board School will be the clergyman and the squire, and they will have the power to order any kind of religious instruction to be imparted in the school—it may be the views of Bishop Colenso or of Dr. Pusey. They may teach as much as they like if it is not in the form of the catechism; and there are scores of catechisms prepared by clergymen a thousand times worse than the catechism of the Church of England. There

should be perfect liberty of teaching for all men. But I do object to a man putting his hand into my pocket and taking my money to teach that which I believe to be deadly error. This is the cardinal injustice of the Bill.

In reference to his own amendment, said Mr. Richard, Mr. Gladstone admitted that it was quite compatible with the most earnest and zealous respect for religion, and subsequently confessed to him that the right solution of the difficulty lay in the direction of that amendment.*

The year 1871 opened with a series of popular meetings, convened under the auspices of the Peace Society, to express an opinion on "the firm, pacific, and watchful attitude of her Majesty's Government with respect to the present war between France and Prussia, and to deprecate armed intervention in the disputes of foreign

* When the "Life of Mr. Forster" was published, in the summer of 1888, it was reviewed by Mr. Gladstone in the *Nineteenth Century*. The right honourable gentleman, in reference to the Education Act of 1870, remarks:—"My responsibility is that of concurrence rather than of authorship. It might have been otherwise. For if we had been dealing with a *tabula rasa*, I should have preferred the provisions of the Scotch Education Act framed by Lord Young, which give to the local School Board a free discretion with regard to denominational education. On the other hand, I do not in any way share the objection, which, I think, Forster entertained, to a law which should permit a strict limitation to State-aided as well as of the rate-aided teaching to secular instruction. In such a case, however, I am strongly of opinion that arrangements, subject to the consent of all parties locally concerned, should be permitted, under which the master who gives the secular teaching should not be disabled from giving religious instruction also, where it is desired, by arrangement with independent parties, at other times, and even, perhaps, within the walls of the school-house. Without doubt these matters will come up again for consideration; but until we shall have disposed of our great skeleton in the cupboard—that is to say, the Irish Question—we shall in all likelihood have no leisure for the solution of this, or of many another problem."

nations, and its necessary consequence—increased armaments." The first of these was held at the Lambeth Baths, the late Rev. G. M. Murphy, always a zealous advocate of peace, in the chair, and the Rev. Newman Hall being among the speakers. At the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the late Hugh Mason presided, and the platform was occupied by deputations from some 250 branches of the National Reform Union. Similar meetings were held in Liverpool, Stroud, and in other towns, and the resolutions on each occasion praised the dignified neutrality of the present Government. Mr. Richard, who was present at these and similar gatherings, took occasion to denounce the war-panic which some people were fomenting, and the proposal which had been made for the adoption in England of a modified form of conscription.

During the Session of 1871 Mr. Miall introduced his first motion for the disestablishment of the English Church, or rather of the British Churches. It was not, however, till Tuesday, May 9th, that he was able to secure a favourable day. There was a crowded house on the occasion, and the tone of the mover of the resolution was much commended by its leading opponents, who included Mr. Bruce, then the Home Secretary, Sir Roundell Palmer, and Mr. Gladstone. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Richard in a speech of some length, in the course of which he referred with great effect to the fact that they had lately been considering the Lectionary Bill of the Established Church, and had to decide for the clergy

what lessons and passages from Scripture they should, or should not, read in the churches on Sundays and holy days. The Nonconformist members had been appealed to by Mr. Gathorne Hardy to abstain from taking part in these discussions, which was tantamount to a proposal that a considerable portion of the representatives of the people should abdicate their functions as legislators, in order that the Church of England, while continuing to be a Parliamentary Church, might be relieved from the embarrassment resulting to her from that character. Mr. Richard then proceeded to give some illustrations of the operation of the State Church system in the Principality of Wales, and contended that, from the very first, the Protestant Establishment there had failed to fulfil its professed mission of teaching the Welsh people. To the argument of Sir Roundell Palmer that disestablishment would leave the rural districts in a state of utter spiritual destitution, he replied that there was now a more perfect system for the religious instruction of the poor Welsh people, provided by themselves out of their poverty, than in any other part of the United Kingdom, and perhaps in any other part of the civilised world. Yet these people were called upon to bear the burden of another Church, which was not doing the work of instructing them in religion.*

* Mr. Miall's motion was very ably supported by Mr. A. E. Leatham, and strenuously opposed by Mr. Disraeli, who contended that the Church of England was the Church of the people, especially in the rural districts. It was complained by the Opposition that the Home Secretary was a lukewarm defender of the Establishment; for though he said it had justified

As Secretary of the Peace Society, Mr. Richard had to present his report at the annual meeting in May. Experience had proved that the facts he had to communicate were far more acceptable when embodied in a lively speech than when presented in a formal document, and he was able to do this with exceptional skill. At the meeting in May, 1871, he had much to say about the Franco-German War, and the wisdom of Mr. Gladstone's Government—for which they deserved lasting gratitude—in resisting all incitements to take sides in the deplorable conflict. He laid special emphasis on the help rendered by the Working Men's Peace Association, an organisation entirely independent of their own, though they were glad to assist and encourage the movement. He also took occasion to reply to those who were so forward in telling them that the preaching of peace was a bootless enterprise, though in the long run the preachers had always contrived to beat the philosophers, and it was by preaching—that is, the use of argument, persuasion, and appeal, trusting to the understanding and conscience of mankind in the interests of truth, justice, and humanity—that the most beneficent revolutions in the world had

its existence by good works, he refrained from defending it by abstract argument. They had no such complaint to make of Mr. Gladstone, who, in closing the debate, declared his firm belief that the motion was at variance with the established convictions of the country, and that if Mr. Miall sought to convert the majority of the House of Commons, he must begin by converting to those opinions the majority of the people of England. The motion was rejected by 374 to 89 votes, the minority including ten Welsh representatives, the members for some thirty large constituencies, and Mr. Samuel Morley, who was induced to support the motion by the elevated tone of the opening speech.

been brought about. He also adverted with sympathy to the remarkable lecture of Professor Seely to the members of the Peace Society in favour of a European Federation for preventing war, and expressed great hope of the successful issue of the appeal to the Arbitration Tribunal, which was attempting to adjudicate the conflicting claims of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations in respect to the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers, as provided by the Treaty of Washington.*

The introduction of the Ballot Bill, which was entrusted to the experienced hands of Mr. W. E. Forster, naturally excited the greatest interest in the

* This, the most important international question ever submitted to arbitration, demands a word of explanation. The Court sat at Geneva under the presidency of Count Sclopis, an Italian diplomatist. When the American case was presented to our Government it was found to contain not only a claim for actual damage done to American commerce by the Confederate cruisers, but also claims for the indirect or "consequential damages," which had been inserted to gratify the strange vindictiveness of Mr. Charles Sumner. There was considerable indignation in England at the discovery of this piece of sharp practice. By Lord Granville's instructions our representatives at Geneva were required to hold aloof till these indirect claims were withdrawn, and eventually the arbitrators declared that on the general principles of international law "indirect claims" were untenable, and they were withdrawn. Eventually the sum of £3,229,000 was awarded by the Court for the damages caused by the *Alabama* and two other cruisers which our Government had negligently permitted to escape our ports. While concurring in this judgment, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, one of the members of the Tribunal, declined to endorse the views of his colleagues in respect to other vessels. On the whole, public opinion on both sides the Atlantic concurred in the verdict. The award was paid by our Government without demur, but the Washington Government was never able to find legal applicants for the entire amount. Although in some respects this notable arbitration settlement was open to criticism, it was, by general consent, infinitely better than an appeal to the arbitrament of war.

Principality. It was subjected to an amount of obstruction by the Tories which will vie with any of the more recent applications of that Parliamentary weapon. Indeed, so persistent was the attempt of the rank and file of the party to drown the Bill in "one weak, washy, everlasting flood" of talk—for it was discussed late in the session—that Mr. Gladstone actually found it necessary to call together his Liberal supporters, and urge them to maintain a rigid silence. The advice was acted upon, and greatly exasperated the Opposition; but the Bill passed the Commons, though only to be thrown out by the Lords. Next year the Upper House did not venture to reject it a second time. When the measure was under consideration in the Commons, Mr. Richard greatly strengthened the arguments in its favour by reference to what had occurred in the Principality, supplementing his speech on landlord coercion in 1869 by some fresh evidence. The best proof of the reality of the evictions was, he said, that the largest contributions to the compensation fund came from the immediate neighbourhoods where these cases occurred, and this persecution was still going on. He mentioned, by way of illustration, the eviction of eight tenants in Cardiganshire, excellent farmers and leading Liberals, who had voted for their party in 1868, and these were only a few out of some fifty cases in the same county of a peculiarly exasperating character. Yet when the judges soon after went down to Cardiganshire, there was not a single prisoner for trial. Mr. Justice Hannen, in charging the Grand Jury, said that he had never before

met with a perfectly clear calendar since he had been on the bench, and he understood from his brother judges "that only in the Principality of Wales was such a thing known, and that there it was frequent."

After the Parliamentary recess Mr. Richard attended various meetings to explain the scheme of international arbitration which he intended to submit to the House of Commons. But he did not limit himself to politics or the Peace question. Mr. Joseph Parry, Mus.Bac., a native of Merthyr, who had carried off many Welsh musical prizes, being about to leave for America, a farewell meeting was held in London, which the senior member for that borough was invited to attend, and he expatiated at some length on the pleasures of music, and the benefits Welshmen had derived from it. On another occasion the hon. member attended a festival at the Crystal Palace of the Welsh Choir, which had carried off the first prize in a musical competition.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION DEBATES—ARBITRATION RESOLUTION CARRIED—VISIT TO IRELAND.

When the year 1872 opened it soon became apparent that the alienation of Nonconformists from the Gladstone Administration, in consequence of Mr. Forster's educational policy, was no transient feeling. Towards the close of January the most numerous and representative Conference of Dissenters ever held, comprising nearly two thousand delegates and visitors, representing upwards of eight hundred centres of influence, assembled in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. To many present it recalled the energy and enthusiasm of the Anti-Corn Law League. The Conference was inaugurated by a public meeting in that celebrated building, and there was a supplementary gathering in the Friends' Meeting House, both being crowded to overflowing. Over the former Mr. Richard was called upon to preside, a striking testimony to his commanding position as a Nonconformist leader. The honourable member was equal to the occasion. His opening speech was weighty and inspiring, and in its reference to the Government showed a remarkable power of sarcasm. "Officious friends had urged them to take a retrograde movement on the

education movement, to which he replied, in the words of the little drummer boy captured by the French, 'The British army never retreats.' They were told that if they did not sacrifice their convictions to the convenience of party something very dreadful would happen. Well, they could await the issue with complacency. Then there was their accomplished censor, Mr. Matthew Arnold, 'that tart apostle of sweetness and light,' who told them that they did not sufficiently exemplify the mildness and sweet reasonableness of Christianity. He recommended that they should perform the 'happy dispatch,' and wished that the spirit of Nonconformity should be absorbed in a great ecclesiastical Brahma or Vishnu, and that its body should be effectually buried out of sight. They might, however, humbly contend that they had done some good service to their country;" and Mr. Richard declared, amid much applause, "that England would not now be the place so well worth living in, and living for, but for the exertions and the sacrifices of Nonconformists. They had still some work to do for their country, the most urgent being that they should fall back upon their own principles and abide by them firmly. Their difficulties were mainly of their own making. Some, he thought, had gone astray, though he could respect their motives. But now that the true character of the Education Act was revealed, no excuse was left. Nonconformists were proud of the success Mr. Forster had achieved in Parliament and in office; and it was only gradually, painfully, and unwillingly they were forced to admit that

he had forgotten his old Radical and Nonconformist friends, and was betraying them in order to indulge his own ambition of success. But never," said Mr. Richard, "have I seen such symptoms of unity and earnestness in the Nonconformist camp as now." This was the key-note of the Conference, which unanimously passed a resolution that, in any system of national education, "the responsibility of the religious education of each district should be thrown upon voluntary effort." This was supplemented by another to the effect that the schoolmaster ought in no case to be allowed to have charge of the religious instruction given out of school-hours in Board Schools. The language of all the speakers—including Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, not as yet a member of Parliament—was in harmony with this attitude, and none were more applauded than Mr. (now Dr.) Dale when he urged that, in every constituency Nonconformists should at once organise themselves for the express purpose of securing the return of members who would vote, and vote at once, for the reversal of the Government policy on the Education Act, and for embodying in legislation the resolutions of the Conference. By thus coming together at Manchester, they were, he thought, helping to give the Liberal party a creed, a policy, and a future.

It was not long before this "burning question" was again discussed in the Legislature. On the 5th of March, Mr. George Dixon moved the following resolutions in the House of Commons. They are quoted at length, as indicating the precise attitude of the advanced

Liberals and Nonconformists on the education question at this time :—

That in the opinion of this House the provisions of the Elementary Education Act are defective, and its working unsatisfactory, and particularly that it fails to secure the general election of School Boards in towns and rural districts.

That it does not render obligatory the attendance of children at school.

That it deals in a partial and irregular manner with the remission and payment of school fees by School Boards.

That it allows School Boards to pay fees out of rates levied upon the community to Denominational Schools, over which the ratepayers have no control.

That it permits School Boards to use the money of the rate payers for the purpose of imparting dogmatic religious instruction in schools established by School Boards.

That by the concession of these permissive powers, it provokes religious discord throughout the country; and by exercise of them it violates the rights of conscience.

The member for Birmingham was followed by Mr. Richard, who seconded the resolutions in a forcible speech, going straight to the mark. He began by denying with emphasis that the Nonconformists had ever accepted a compromise of the religious difficulty. The alleged concessions to them were examined and mercilessly condemned, and Mr. Richard showed that Mr. Forster had patronised the Denominational Schools at the expense of every other kind of school, and that there was the same bias in the Ecclesiastical Department, no Dissenter being, on any consideration, appointed an inspector. In some cases Nonconformists had humbly and respectfully remonstrated; "they were always,"

sarcastically said the honourable member, "obliged to be humble and respectful when they went to the Privy Council Office." In supplying evidence as to the dangerous and anti-Protestant character of much of the religious teaching in the Church of England, he quoted from the notorious catechism of the Rev. F. Gace, Vicar of Great Barling, which was even then well known, in which the writer condemned Dissent as "a great sin." The honourable member vindicated Nonconformists from being indifferent to religious education, and prophesied that the Vice-President of the Council, besides failing to solve the educational difficulty, would dissolve the Liberal party, unless the head of the Government promptly interposed. In opposing the resolutions, Mr. W. E. Forster addressed himself throughout his elaborate speech, and with some warmth, to the Radical benches. He carefully refrained from commenting on Mr. Richard's remarks on the relations of Nonconformists to the Government, but towards the close he explained the cause of the delay in establishing School Boards in country districts, and said that the Government were prepared to consider the objections to some of the provisions of the Education Act with a view to their removal. This promise seems to have had a material effect on the division, the resolutions being rejected by 355 to 94 votes.

It is not easy, even after this lapse of time, to understand the infatuation of the Government on this question. Mr. Gladstone was not backward in admitting that Nonconformists were among his most cherished

and reliable supporters, and must have felt perfectly satisfied that without them his party was impotent. The delay in giving effect to Mr. Forster's vague promises is easily accounted for. The Prime Minister, early in the session of 1873, brought in his Irish University Bill, which no one cordially liked, and which was eventually rejected. And why? Because, as Mr. Richard said, in a subsequent debate, the defeat of that measure was the Nemesis of the English Nonconformists.*

Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Mr. Disraeli having under the circumstances declined to take office, the discredited Liberal Government was obliged to return on sufferance. Such was the political situation when Mr. Forster, in July, brought in his Education Act Amendment Bill. This also proved to be a fiasco. It originally proposed to substitute for the 25th Clause, another which made the Board of Guardians whippers-in of children to the Denominational schools. The Guardians having protested, this notable scheme was abandoned, and the objectionable 25th clause was retained. A proposal to repeal it was voted down by 202 to 100 votes, the majority including 113 Conservatives. The same result followed every attempt to

* Why was it that our accomplished and adventurous pilot, who had guided the vessel with such consummate courage and skill through so many shoals and straits, on that occasion steered her on the rocks? Because he saw the Vice-President of the Council, like a spectral apparition in the offing, brandishing in his face the English Education Act, for undoubtedly the denominational character of that Act had enormously aggravated the difficulty of the Government in dealing with Irish Education.—*Speech of Mr. Richard on the Education Amendment Act, July* 17, 1873.

extend the School Board system. The tactics of 1870 were repeated; Nonconformists being in every case defeated by the aid of the Conservatives. Of course the the Bill passed, but the objections of Nonconformists were hardly at all removed, so that ultimately Mr. Samuel Morley, who, on this question, was so anxious to accept the Ministerial proposals, was obliged to protest against the action of the Government. It is not surprising that, under such circumstances, Mr. Richard, in opposing this illusory measure, used expressions of great strength and serious warning, the worst consequences of which, for the Gladstone Administration, were realised at the beginning of 1874, when the appeal to the country gave Mr. Disraeli and his followers a majority of some fifty in the new Parliament.

Some time before this great political change, which saddled the country with a Conservative Ministry and the serious results of "a spirited foreign policy" for six long years, Mr. Richard achieved his greatest Parliamentary triumph, for which the Peace Society had been preparing throughout the country by means of public meetings, conferences, and petitions to Parliament. On Tuesday, July 9th, 1873, he found opportunity to bring forward his motion in favour of international arbitration, which was thus worded:—"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to enter into communication with foreign Powers, with a view to further improvement in International Law, and the establishment of a general and permanent system of arbitration." Happily for Mr.

Richard's success, the Opposition benches were nearly empty, but there were plenty of friends to keep a House, though when nine o'clock struck there were not half of forty members present. Ere long, more than two hundred lined the benches, and the galleries were crowded. Though Mr. Richard spoke at first in an unusually low tone of voice, he soon gained his customary pitch, and "there was," says one who heard him, "that measured deliberation of speech which indicated a feeling of extreme moral responsibility, and even when the speaker rose, as he thrice did, to rhythmic eloquence, the words falling on the ear like the tread of a multitude or the motion of music, he was exercising an obvious and powerful self-restraint." Mr. Richard began with a reference to Mr. Cobden's motion on the same subject twenty-five years previously, and then proceeded to describe the large degree of external support he had received from the Continent and the United States, from nearly all the religious bodies of Great Britain, and especially from working men, more than a million of whom had spontaneously signified their adhesion to the principle. While he was contending that those with whom he was associated could not be fairly called "the Peace-at-any-price party," Mr. Bright entered the House, and took his seat immediately below the speaker.*

The hon. member then referred to the condition to

* Mr. Bright was not then in office, but his silence on this occasion is explained by the fact that within a month he again accepted a seat in the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

which the rivalry in armaments had reduced the nations of Europe, illustrating his argument by some telling and comprehensive facts, and capping it with a few sentences of great oratorical force. Often upon trivial grounds, the Governments of Europe plunged into wholesale and mutual slaughter, which was utterly deplorable and disgraceful—an affront to reason, an outrage on justice, a scandal to civilisation, and especially a reproach to that religion of peace, charity, and brotherly love, which they all professed to reverence. "Every Power," he said, "is spending the greater part of its income in warlike preparations, the cost being estimated at 400 millions a year, or including the interest on debts at 550 millions. Their subjects ask for bread, and they give them bullets; they ask for useful education, and they give them military drill; they ask for comfortable homes, and they offer them barracks. Science has, in fact, sold herself to the devil, and exhausted her ingenuity in devising inventions, which were in their turn superseded by others still more destructive and infernal." Could not the combined statesmanship of Europe, he asked, devise something better than a continuance of this senseless game of "beggar my neighbour"—a game which left every State at the end of the process just where it was at the beginning? He went on to refer to the number of international differences which had been actually settled by arbitration, to the declaration inserted in the Treaty of Paris at Lord Clarendon's suggestion, and to the Geneva Arbitration, which he thought was eminently honourable to the two great

nations principally concerned, and as one of the landmarks in their history; and he praised the tact of Lord Granville in extricating this country from serious embarrassment. The substitute for war which he proposed had been advocated by Lord Derby and J. S. Mill, and though he did not expect such an international tribunal as he suggested to be at once set up, he thought the Government might take some steps in that direction. Mr. Richard concluded a speech of an hour and ten minutes, which was described by an eye-witness as well worthy of his subject and his audience, with the following peroration :—

It seems to me that each of the two great parties in this country is at the present moment groping, and not very successfully groping, for a policy. Would that one of them had the courage to aspire to become the leader of a real peace party in Europe, to take the first steps towards establishing peace on sure and firm foundations—the foundations of law and jurisprudence. They would meet with a response of which they have little conception. The world is growing weary of war. The nations are groaning under the burden of military expenditure and military servitude, and are longing to be delivered. I believe even that the governments—especially the minor governments of Europe—would most gladly and gratefully follow the leadership of England. A distinguished member of a foreign legislature wrote to me some time ago in reference to my motion, "I believe you are hitting the right nail on the head. It will be impossible for the nations to enter upon the process of mutual disarmament until first of all they shall find some means presented to them by which they can settle their disputes without arms, and I feel convinced that England, of all nations in the world, is the right country to take the initiative in this matter."

I also, sir, have the ambition to secure the honour of this great initiative for my own country. There are people who charge us of the Peace Party with being careless of, or indifferent to, the honour

of England. I repudiate and repel the imputation. What possible reason can those who make the imputation, and who arrogate to themselves the credit of an exclusive patriotism, have to love England and her dignity and glory, that we have not in an equal degree with themselves? Is not England also our country, the home of our childhood's joys, the place of our fathers' sepulchres? Are not her name, and character, and greatness closely intertwined with our dearest earthly affections, in the memories of the past, and in the anticipations of the future? Do we not also feel that we rise with her renown, and sink with her degradation? Of course there may be differences of opinion as to what constitutes honour for a great country. I do not believe that the honour of a Christian nation consists in her being conspicuous for deeds of violence and blood, though even if it were so, we have had enough of that in past times to glut the most insatiable appetite for military glory. But to my mind the honour of England consists in this—that she is the birthplace and home of freedom; that she has been able to teach nations, by her own example, how to combine order and liberty in her political life; that she is the mother of free communities which perpetuate her ideas and institutions in all parts of the globe; that she was the first to strike the fetters off the slave and bid the oppressed go free; and that she is stretching forth her hand to scatter the blessings of civilisation and Christianity among the nations to the uttermost ends of the earth. These are the things which, in my opinion, honour England, and it will be a still greater honour if possible—a signal, a crowning honour—if she becomes the harbinger of peace to the world, if she takes the first step towards the organisation of that peace on solid and lasting foundations, so as to do something to realise the glorious vision of our Poet Laureate—

> "When the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flag is furled,
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world;
> When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
> And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law."

Mr. Mundella having seconded the motion, Mr. Gladstone promptly rose, and occupied some three-quarters of an hour with his reply, although there were indications that he intended to be much shorter.

It was a peculiar speech, in which the Prime Minister indicated, and often expressed, his thorough sympathy with the object sought to be obtained, yet withholding support to the proposed means of obtaining it. The gist of his address was that it was better for the Government to deal with the arbitration question in detail, acknowledging its duty, as an English statesman has seldom done before, to "do unto others as we would be done by, and to expect no more than we are prepared to give." He also referred to Mr. Cobden's motion, and reminded Mr. Richard that Lord Palmerston had advised Mr. Cobden not to go to a division, but to accept the previous question, and he doubted whether Mr. Cobden had exercised a wise discretion in not doing this. Mr. Gladstone emphatically declared that he had but one motive in declining to request the House to adopt Mr. Richard's motion, namely, that its adoption would tend to put in jeopardy the progress of the cause which he had at heart. At the same time he expressed his sense of its great value, and his conviction that there was reserved for this country "a great and honourable" destiny in connection with the subject, but that they must proceed "step by step," taking care to give practical effect to their principles by acting with "moderation, goodwill, and justice." Mr. Gladstone's speech was the speech of a great Peace Minister, and, taking it altogether, none could have listened to it with profounder gratitude than the members of the Peace Party in the House and in the galleries.

After Sir Wilfrid Lawson had briefly spoken in favour of the motion, Mr. Richard rose and stated that he proposed to take the sense of the House. This was hardly expected by the regular supporters of the Government, and Lord Enfield, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, hastily proposed the previous question, and the division at once took place. A ringing cheer greeted the member for Merthyr when he appeared at the bar with the paper in his hand, and he spoke with unwonted energy when he read out the numbers—

Ayes (for the previous question)	88
Noes...	98
Majority	10

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House, and Mr. Richard's motion was then put and agreed to without a division. The greater part of the Tory party was absent, though forty-six of its members were in time to take part in the vote, and it appears that many of the steadfast adherents of the Ministry stayed away on the assurance that there would be no division.* The Tory party made the most of this defeat of the Government, which certainly, with some previous reverses, tended to damage their prestige. But the carrying of such a motion in the British House of Commons produced, as

* The July of 1873 was an unusually hot month, and there happened to be at the time a great deal of festivity going on, partly in connection with the visit of the Shah of Persia. A number of Liberal members, bent on enjoyment, were said to have been assured by Mr. Adam, the whipper-in, that their presence would not be wanted that night.

will be seen, a great moral effect throughout Europe. Some days after the Queen's reply, which was, of course, that of her responsible advisers, was read to the House. It was to this effect:—

"I am sensible of the force of the philanthropic motives which have dictated your address. I have at all times sought to extend, both by advice and by example, as occasion might offer, the practice of closing controversies between nations by submission to the impartial judgment of friends, and to encourage the adoption of international rules intended for the equal benefit of all. I shall continue to pursue a similar course, with due regard to time and opportunity, when it shall seem likely to be attended with advantage."

More than this, as an official reply, could hardly, under the circumstances, be expected.

Mr. Richard had abundant reason for being gratified by his unlooked-for success. It was subsequently ascertained that 125 members of the House of Commons, including pairs and those who were unavoidably absent, had endorsed the motion, and that 1,165 petitions, with 207,391 signatures—many being by the chairmen of large meetings—were presented in its favour. While some of the newspapers derided the motion as abstract and without practical result, a very large number expressed great satisfaction at the issue, not as expecting any immediate result, but as lifting the arbitration principle to a higher level, where it would command earnest attention, and lead to fruitful discussion. The press of the Continent and the United States was, to a large extent, very cordial in recognising the importance of the decision of the British Parliament. Among the

first to congratulate Mr. Richard was the Hon. Charles Sumner, who, writing from the Senate Chamber at Washington, said:—"I thank you for making this motion, and also for not yielding to Mr. Gladstone's request to withdraw it. Your speech marks an epoch in a great cause. It will make your Parliamentary life historic. How absurd to call your motion Utopian. There is no question so supremely practical, for it concerns not merely one nation but every nation, and even its discussion promises to diminish the terrible chances of war." Many letters of congratulation were sent from other friends and several associated bodies in the United States. Those from the Continent were not only numerous but most cordial. An address from Paris, signed by M. Passy and about a score of the most prominent supporters of Peace principles, while heartily thanking Mr. Richard, said that the vote of the British Parliament was a fact there was no gainsaying, and an example that would certainly be followed by other Parliaments. Similar communications were received from Brussels (MM. Laveleye and Visschers), the Hague, Germany, Denmark, and Italy. The letters and addresses from the last-named country were peculiarly warm. In a subsequent communication to their supporters, the Committee of the Peace Society referred in thankful terms to their co-operation in promoting the success of the resolution on international arbitration in the House of Commons, and stated that in view of the strong feeling of sympathy it had called forth in Europe, Mr. Richard was about to proceed to the Continent in

the hope of doing something by personal communication with leading members of other legislatures to promote their common object.

After the Parliamentary recess early in August, Mr. and Mrs. Richard made a trip to Ireland, intended to combine pleasure with business. They were joined there by Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, of Looe, Cornwall, the lady being a sister of Mrs. Richard. In crossing from Holyhead Mr. Richard found to his satisfaction that the majority of the steamer's crew were Welshmen, who took a pride in paying every attention to their distinguished countryman. The hon. member delivered addresses on Peace principles and the arbitration question in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and some other places, and saw as much of the country and the people as was possible in three weeks. He found there were not a few Quakers in the sister island. To a large extent they were prosperous—some being wealthy—but generally Conservative in their political views, and lukewarm in reference to peace. In the meetings he held the attendance was scanty, and it was necessary to treat the subject in an elementary fashion. In a diary relative to his visit, there are some notes as to the characteristics of the people and descriptions of scenery, the interest of which is to a considerable extent ephemeral. Mr. Richard and his companions explored the picturesque outskirts of Dublin,* and then proceeded to the lakes

* Here, as was usual elsewhere, Mr. Richard inquired into the educational establishments. From the head of the Infant Schools connected with the National Society he learned that the chief opponent of the principle of united secular and separate religious instruction, on which the

of Killarney, the lovely scenery of which was not seen to advantage owing to the persistent rain. The good humour and ready wit of the importunate peasantry were admired, but the members of the party were, as is usual, pursued by men and boys who had ponies for hire, and had to run the gauntlet of the women, who, with an infinite amount of blarney, thrust upon them their bog-oak ornaments. From Limerick the party went in a very uncomfortable boat down the broad and unpicturesque Shannon to Kilrush, and thence by omnibus to Kilkee, a fashionable watering-place much affected in summer by visitors from Limerick and Dublin, but well-nigh deserted in winter. Here they went to see the rock-bound coast, with its picturesque caverns and chasms, its natural bridges and "puffing holes," due to the extraordinary action of the Atlantic rollers. On returning to Limerick Mr. Richard saw much of the Quakers of that city, whose relations to the Peace question and national education were explained to him. He was much pleased with a visit to the school of "the Christian Brothers," who dedicate themselves to the education of the poor, and have some 2,000 children under their care, as well as industrial schools, where different trades are taught. The children belong to different classes, some being

system was originally based by Lord Stanley, was Dr. Carlyle, one of the first Commissioners. He it was who, by introducing Scripture lessons and other school books with more or less of the religious element in them into the ordinary teaching of the National Schools, caused the first deflection from the straight line, which has since degenerated into pure denominationalism. "It is," says Mr. Richard, "an instructive history from which English Nonconformists would do well to take warning."

of the poorest, but they are well trained. "It is clear to me," says the diarist, "that these Catholic Orders study to win the hearts of the children, whom they rule by love. It was pleasant to see how fondly and familiarly some of the little creatures clung to the hand of the good brother who accompanied me." A report equally favourable is given of the nunnery and orphanage belonging to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and, on the whole, it is confessed that the managers of these Roman Catholic institutions were doing a good work, and doing it well. The writer has also something to say of the Model School at Limerick, and of such institutions generally.

Mr. Richard did not find the Friends at Limerick at all zealous in the Peace cause. There was a gathering of some thirty persons at their meeting-house, and, the gas meter being out of order, they had to be content with the light of two borrowed tallow candles, and he addressed this select company without being able to see their faces. Visits to Cork, Belfast, and Waterford, brought the tour to a close, and, notwithstanding some drawbacks, the Secretary of the Peace Society regarded it as reviving Irish public interest in the question he had at heart.

On his return to England, Mr. Richard attended a great meeting of the National Education League held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, under the auspices of Mr. Dixon, M.P., and somewhat later (October) he assisted at the opening of the University College for Wales just completed at Aberystwith. This was a great event

in the history of the Principality, which had heretofore only denominational colleges. None took a more prominent part in founding the institution than Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hugh Owen, of the Poor Law Board, whose services in the cause of Welsh education generally were indefatigable. He was greatly assisted by Dr. Nicholas, who worked with untiring energy to give the scheme a practical shape, by Dr. Charles, who traversed Wales in order to promote it, and by Dr. Thomas, of Stockwell, the editor of the *Homilist*. A solid foundation for the College was laid by Mr. William Williams, formerly member for Lambeth, who bequeathed £1,000 for the object. Amongst those present at the inaugural breakfast, on October 15th, were Colonel Price, Lord Lieutenant of Cardiganshire, who presided, Mr. Hugh Owen, Mr. Brinley Richards, Mr. Stephen Evans, Mr. Morgan Lloyd, and the following Welsh members—Sir T. D. Lloyd, and Messrs. H. Richard, E. M. Richards, and Osborne Morgan. There had been for several years great difficulties and discouragements in starting the enterprise, but in due time a goodly sum was raised, including £1,000 from Mr. Morley; and when the opening took place £2,000 a year had been guaranteed to meet salaries and current expenses. Towards the Building Fund Mr. David Davies, of Llandinam, gave the princely donation of £3,000, and other large sums were promised at the inaugural festival, at which a most sympathetic letter from the Prime Minister was read. Their next step, said Mr. Richard, in his speech at the public breakfast, must

be to ask for a grant from the Government. They would be satisfied if they only received the price of two or three Armstrong guns, and were treated in the matter with the same consideration as was shown to Scotland and Ireland.*

* A grant was made to Aberystwith College, and some years later, when the Conservatives were in power, it was settled that that institution in common with the Colleges for North and South Wales should each receive £4,000 per annum.

CHAPTER XV.

DOMESTIC ANXIETIES AND CHANGES—TOUR OF THREE MONTHS ON THE CONTINENT.

BEFORE Mr. Richard's visit to the Continent, during the Parliamentary recess of 1873, a very painful family bereavement took place, which, with the circumstances that arose out of it, is thus referred to by his wife in the following notes:—

The annual visit to his sisters was first to be paid. We started early in August for Llanwrtyd (Brecon), where Mrs. Evans was spending a short time for the benefit of her daughter's health. After a week there we proceeded to Cardiganshire, and before returning home to prepare for the longer journey, we were to pass a day or two at Mold, my husband having promised to preside on one of the days of the Eisteddfod. "Man proposes, but God disposes." Just before the expiration of our visit to my sister-in-law we received by telegram the terrible news that a bathing accident had suddenly snatched from us two beloved nieces, who, with their widowed mother and aunt, were staying at Ilfracombe.*

* This shocking accident took place early in the month of August. The young ladies were the only daughters of Mrs. Fell, Mrs. Richard's sister. They were bathing at the ladies' cove, a rocky place, and dangerous whenever there is a heavy swell, and were carried out to sea by the undercurrent. Unhappily there was neither life-buoy nor boat to help them. The local sympathy called forth by this distressing event was deepened by the conviction that, had there been proper safeguards, the lives thus lost might have been saved. The Coroner's jury censured the local authorities at Ilfracombe for their negligence, and a public meeting of visitors, while condoling with the bereaved relatives, insisted that adequate means of safety in bathing should be taken: an admonition which was promptly obeyed.

We immediately joined our stricken ones, and during the few days that had to be spent there before proceeding to London, all were strengthened and comforted by my dear husband's soothing influence and tender sympathy. The continental journey I had looked forward to with such pleasurable interest I now shrank from, but when I had sufficiently recovered from the shock to be able to reason with myself, I felt it would be selfish to upset all my dear husband's plans, especially as it was a mission, not a pleasure trip we were undertaking. While he was spared to me life could not long remain void of interest. The middle of September found us launched on our wanderings; three months of constant change restored in a measure both health and cheerfulness.

On our return to London we found time had dealt less kindly with the mourners at home, the silent house too keenly reminded them of their bitter loss. The winter passed drearily away; a cloud resting over both families. We then lived near each other—bordering on Kennington Park. At last it occurred to my husband that it would be better we should all leave a neighbourhood now fraught with sad memories, and join housekeeping. Besides, house-hunting and moving with all its attendant fatigue and anxieties would compel a return to active life and create fresh interests. The proposition was accepted, and within a year my three sisters and we were settled at Bolton Gardens, South Kensington, forming one family.

Under ordinary circumstances such an experiment might be deemed hazardous, but Mr. Richard neither saw nor made difficulties.

His large loving heart (says Mrs. Bell, one of the sisters) created an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, and there was no jarring in the new home, his dear wife undertaking the management of the enlarged *ménage*. During fourteen years of happy family life together, the sisters had in Henry Richard a dear brother, a true friend, and wise counsellor, ever ready to share every burden, full of tenderest sympathy in all our sorrows. In the autumn of 1880 our youngest sister (Mrs. Bishop) came to us from Cornwall with her husband to seek for him the best medical advice, little realising that

he was sick unto death. Mr. Richard saw the shadow hanging over the devoted wife, supported her by his keen sympathy in all her anxieties in earnest Christian intercourse, and was no small comfort to the sufferer. In all the irregularities consequent on a trying illness in the house during five months, Mrs. Bishop gratefully remembers his brotherly unfailing patience as well as his affectionate participation in the great sorrow of her bereavement. Neither can I ever forget how, when death entered my own house, and the light and joy of my life seemed suddenly extinguished, my dear good brother insisted, almost at the risk of his life, on accompanying me to the grave of my beloved husband on that bleak day in January, 1888. Little did we then think that a few short months would find us again gathered together at an open grave; the last resting-place of Henry Richard. Truly in the tender mercy of our God the veil hides from our view the coming sorrow or suffering.

On the 1st of September, 1873, Mr. Richard, accompanied by his wife, started on his prolonged continental tour, which has been fittingly described as "a pilgrimage of peace," his paramount object being to secure by personal communication the co-operation of members of other European legislatures in promoting the cause of international arbitration. The result abundantly showed that the Committee of the Peace Society did wisely in sending their Secretary on this philanthropic mission. The general estimation in which he was held, and the recent adoption of his arbitration resolution in the House of Commons, insured him almost everywhere a reception by leading politicians and statesmen, as well as by less known adherents of the cause, which was always cordial, and often enthusiastic. Probably no unofficial Englishman has of late years, if ever, been received with such marked demonstrations of respect and sympathy in the chief cities of Europe. Mr. Richard

has left copious notes of this, the most important of his visits to the Continent, which contain vivid sketches of the places through which he passed, as well as characterisations of the public men with whom he came in contact.

Crossing to Brussels, he had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with his old and tried friend, M. Visschers, who was the President of the Peace Congress of 1848, and who, with Mr. Miles, Secretary of the American Peace Society, and Mr. Dudley Field, was arranging for a conference of Jurists in the Belgian capital in the following month. He also saw M. Couvreur, connected with the *Independance Belge*, who was proposing to introduce into the Belgian Legislature a resolution similar to his own. After a day's sight-seeing at Antwerp the travellers departed for the Hague, where they met with much attention from Dutch public men. Mr. Richard had a very unique reception by his friends and admirers, which he thus describes:—

At a quarter to eight M. Bredius and M. Romyn called with a carriage to take us to the meeting, which was at the Freemasons' Hall. In the Committee-room met several gentlemen, members of the Peace Committee and others. When we entered, a gentleman presented Mrs. Richard with a splendid bouquet, the music struck up, and all the audience arose as we passed up to our seats. It was an elegant room, very prettily ornamented with flags and flowers. At the upper end they had my portrait, which some artist had copied in large from the engraving in the French *Bulletin*. Around it there was a sort of ornamental frame, with the motto "Peace on earth" in Dutch, and the date of my motion in the House of Commons. The room, which would hold some three hundred people, was full of ladies and gentlemen. As soon as we had

taken our seats, the choir sang first "God save the Queen," and then the Dutch National Anthem, after which M. van Eck, the chairman, made a speech on the question of Peace in Dutch, ending with some very complimentary observations in regard to myself, congratulating me on my success in the House of Commons, and giving me a cordial welcome to Holland. The substance of his speech was rendered into English by M. Romyn, who, having lived for many years in England, speaks English like a native. I then addressed the meeting for about half an hour. A considerable part of the audience must have understood what I said pretty fairly, judging from the expressions of approval. But my speech was interpreted—and, as it appeared, very well interpreted—by M. Bredius. Then M. Bachiene presented a series of resolutions—one of thanks and congratulations to myself, others relating to the late meeting at Ghent, and the projected meeting at Brussels on the reform of international law. Soon after M. van Eck, addressing me, begged me to accept a diploma of honourable membership in the Society, and an album containing portraits of all the members. Then he presented the thanks of the meeting to Madam Richard for her presence, and for the sympathy and help she had rendered her husband in his philanthropic enterprises. A hymn of peace followed, the words and music specially composed for the occasion and extremely well sung by the choir. At the close of the meeting several ladies and gentlemen warmly thanked me for my speech, and said they understood me very well. I was glad to hear that, as I had taken great pains to speak slowly and distinctly. I own I felt a little comical as I walked up the room to the sound of music, with my own portrait staring me in the face, and especially when in the diploma I found myself described as *Sir* Henry Richard. Still the reception was very gratifying and encouraging, and represented, I venture to hope and believe, a considerable degree of interest in the great question to which I have devoted so large a portion of my life. Several of the gentlemen accompanied us back to our hotel. I ought to have mentioned that yesterday I was taken over the new Club, a very fine building erected about two years ago, where I was introduced to several gentlemen, among others to M. Moens, member of the Chamber, who was formerly, like myself, a Protestant minister.

On the following evening Mr. Richard was entertained at a public banquet, and had the satisfaction of hearing two deputies pledge themselves to bring the subject of arbitration before the Dutch Parliament at the earliest suitable opportunity. Several of the public schools of the city were visited, one of them being the Communal School, where the education is entirely free and secular. He found that it was recruited from the poorer classes by a committee of gentlemen, who visited the parents to induce them to send their children to school. The institution was admirably managed, boys and girls being taught in the same classes, and corporal punishment not being allowed. The children being composed of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, there was no religious instruction, except some sort of vague prayers and hymns used at the opening, but the school-rooms were placed at the disposal of the ministers of various churches at certain hours to give religious instruction. Even in a denominational school, supported by voluntary contributions, which was visited there was no catechism in use, but the style of teaching was substantially that of the British and Foreign School Society. Mr. and Mrs. Richard were the objects of much hospitality at the Hague, and were entertained, amongst other places, at the charming country seat of the Baron Volkier Bentinck, whose mother was greatly interested in the Peace question.

At Berlin Mr. Richard, to his great regret, found most of his old friends away from home, neither the German nor the Prussian Parliament being in session,

but he was cordially received by Herr Duncker, one of the leaders of the Democratic party in Prussia, and by Professor Heffter, the distinguished jurist—"a fine old man now seventy-seven years of age," who was much interested in the codification of the Law of Nations. He had an interview with Dr. Loewenthal of the *Neue Freie Zeitung*, "an earnest and excellent man," and a long discussion with Dr. Loewe, an eminent German, on the moral effect of standing armies, though all his sympathies were with the Arbitration movement, of which he regarded Mr. Richard as the European leader. The acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Thompson of New York was accidentally made, and with him the hon. member cordially fraternised, as well as with the Rev. Palmer Davies, the representative of the Bible Society. As usual, Mr. Richard inspected some schools in Berlin, and thus records some of his impressions:—

September 20.—Had a long talk with Dr. Zumpt, who is at the head of one of the gymnasia here, on the school system of Prussia. He described the religious education given in the gymnasia. The Bible is taught. There is a prayer and a hymn sung at the commencement of school, and if the teacher chooses at the commencement of class. In Protestant schools Roman Catholics and Jews are not required to be present at such religious services, though usually they do not object, because, as he intimated, it is of so general a kind as to give no offence. Nominally the schools are under clerical superintendence, but in the towns it is little more than nominal, while in the country districts it is much more real, as often in country parishes the clergyman is the only person competent to superintend. By Bismarck's recent legislation this *ex-officio* supervision is taken from the clerical order, the Government appointing its own inspector, who may be a clergyman, but may be also a layman, but who is directly responsible to and removable by the Government.

I asked Dr. Zumpt if the religious instruction given in the schools made the children religious. He answered promptly and with great emphasis—"No, religious life does not come from the school, but from the family. The children acquire religious knowledge in school, but not a religious life."

Herr Lasker, the Radical leader, was fortunately at home when Mr. Richard called. The following is an account of the interview:—

October 1.—Called on Dr. Lasker, whom I happily found at home. He received us with much courtesy and kindness, recalled what he said to me four years ago, that the danger to peace was from France, and asked if his prophecy had not come true. Had watched, he said, with great interest the progress of our agitation in England, and the success of my motion in the House of Commons. He assured me repeatedly and with great emphasis that all his sympathies were with me. But when I suggested whether he would not bring the question of Arbitration forward in the German Parliament, he hesitated, doubted if it would be expedient and opportune to do so by direct resolution, but he would consult some of his political friends. There might arise an opportunity of bringing the subject forward indirectly *à propos* of an application which he thought might be made for some grant to assist in carrying into effect the movement originated at Ghent. Declared very positively that the policy of Germany is a peace policy, and pointed out to me—and afterwards, by my request, copied for me—a really striking paragraph inserted on his proposal, after strong opposition, but by a great majority, in the first address of the German Parliament to the Emperor, in favour of absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. Asked me if I intended to see Bismarck. I said "No," that I did not consider my mission was directly to the Governments, but to the members of the legislatures. He admitted that that was the right mode of operation, but that still Bismarck would, of course, have great influence on such a question as I was mooting. He said that Bismarck was not a man of war, he did not love war, etc. If I could visit Berlin about Christmas, I should find him at Berlin. The Prussian Parliament meets in

November, and the German Parliament in February. They are not generally in session at the same time. The former is elected by dividing the electors into three circles, according to the amount they pay, giving to each circle the same voting power, though comprising very unequal numbers of voters; the latter by what is virtually universal suffrage, every man of twenty-four years of age free from crime and pauperism being entitled to vote.

At Dresden Mr. Richard saw several sympathising friends, but was told that Saxony had no independent existence, and took its politics from Berlin.

Being too much pressed for time to stay at Prague, the travellers proceeded to Vienna, through a singularly flat and uninteresting country, and arrived there in the midst of a violent thunderstorm. In finding out the addresses of friends in Vienna great assistance was given by Mr. Jay, the American Minister, who was most kind and sympathetic, and whenever Mr. Richard could find time, the Exhibition, which is described as very magnificent, was inspected. Hurried visits were paid to well-known politicians, such as the editors of the *Freie Presse* and the *Tageblatt*, who promised assistance, and held out the hope that the Arbitration question might be brought before the Delegations. An interview was had with Professor Neumann, of the University, who spoke in flattering terms of Mr. Richard's services, and of his own great pleasure in meeting him, and his cordial sympathy with the Peace movement.

When at Brussels, Mr. Richard had been half persuaded to be present at the Jurist Convention, and now decided to return thither, though it greatly deranged

his programme. No time was to be lost, for he was at Vienna on October 8th, and to reach the Belgian capital on the 10th must make a continuous railway journey of thirty-six hours—two nights and one day—a serious matter for a man on the wrong side of sixty, already fatigued by a laborious tour. It was, however, considered worth some sacrifice to be present at a meeting attended by some of the most eminent publicists of Europe, including Dr. Bluntschli, of Heidelberg; Professor Mancini, of Rome, ex-Minister; Professor Giraud and M. Passy, of France; Mr. Montague Bernard, Sir Horace Twiss, and Mr. Jencken, of England; Mr. Dudley Field and Dr. Miles, of America; M. de Laveleye, M. Visschers, and several Cabinet Ministers of Belgium. Not all present were in favour of international arbitration, pure and simple—several of these eminent men making reservations. The main resolution adopted was to this effect :—

"That this Conference declares that it regards arbitration as a means essentially just and reasonable, and even *obligatory* on all nations, of terminating international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation. It abstains from affirming that in all cases, without exception, this mode of solution is applicable, but it believes that the exceptions are rare, and it is convinced that no difference ought to be considered insoluble until after a clear statement of complaints and reasonable delay, and the exhaustion of all pacific methods of accommodation."

This resolution, as drawn by Dr. Bernard, did not contain the clause including the word "obligatory," but he eventually accepted it in deference to the opinion "of Signor Mancini and so many eminent men." On

the other hand, Mr. Richard said he should have preferred the resolution without any qualification whatever, though he thought that, regarded as a proposition, it was greatly improved as amended. But "exceptions were like a crack in a bottle: no matter how you corked and sealed it up, the essence and liquid would leak out." And he cited the case of the *Trent*, the English West India steamer, from which the Southern delegates were taken by Northern officials. This seemed to him eminently a case for applying the arbitration declaration of the Treaty of Paris, but the British Government decided that it did not come within its scope and intention. Similar objections were at first made by the British Government to the application of the protocol in respect to the Treaty of Washington and the *Alabama* case, but they were unsuccessful, owing, in great part, to the wisdom and courage of Count Sclopis, who presided at the Geneva Arbitration. This was the most knotty question discussed at the Brussels Conference, which lasted three days, and resulted in the formation of "The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations." Before the proceedings closed, the Conference passed a resolution that an address of congratulation should be presented to Mr. Richard for his services in the cause of the peaceful settlement of national disputes, which was signed by M. de Laveleye and M. Visschers. Before the meeting of the Conference its members were entertained by the Burgomaster of Brussels, and at its close they accepted the splendid hospitality of Mr. Dudley Field. Amongst

those present were the Burgomaster and M. Rogier, ex-Minister. The large room in which the banquet took place was decorated with the flags of all the nations represented at the Conference — Germany, France, America, England, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the Argentine Republic. Toasts were proposed, the principal one being in honour of the different nations represented on the occasion. "We kissed and made friends all round," says the diarist.

During the Conference much hospitality was shown to the members by their resident colleagues in the way of receptions and conversaziones. There is an interesting account of a private interview with Signor Mancini, who informed Mr. Richard that he was about to propose an arbitration resolution in the Italian Parliament, and urged him to be present on the occasion, and to take the principal Italian cities *en route*. The diary proceeds :—

Professor Mancini gave me an account of an official mission in which he was engaged, I think, in 1867, with a view to negotiate a Treaty relating to many points of private international law between Italy, France, and Germany. On this occasion the Italian statesman proposed that all questions of dispute that might arise between the Governments on the matters contained in the Treaty should be settled by arbitration. His own Government most readily accepted his proposal to that effect. The scheme was laid before M. Rouher and the Emperor at Paris, both of whom seemed to be quite favourable. He then went to Berlin and submitted the suggestion to Prince Bismarck, who, after some hesitation, also accepted it. But if I understood Mancini aright, the French Government at the last moment withdrew from the proposal.

Mr. Richard returned to Vienna about the middle

of October. It was not an auspicious time for prosecuting his mission, for Austria was in the thick of a general election, and many of those public men whom he most desired to see were away from Vienna amongst their constituents. He found that the difficulties in the way of introducing the arbitration question into the Reichsrath and Delegations would be great, but was recommended to send copies of the German pamphlet on the subject to Count Auersberg, President of the Upper House, with a request that he would be good enough to get them distributed. Amongst those whom Mr. Richard saw were Dr. F. Neumann and Dr. Leopold Neumann, Dr. Kuranda, one of the members for Vienna — who thought the arbitration question might be indirectly introduced in the debate on the Address, the Chamber not being competent to discuss foreign questions—and at the American Embassy he met Count Orisky, a Hungarian nobleman, Mr. Somerset Beaumont, M.P., then visiting Vienna—who cordially promised him all possible assistance—and M. Gabrelli, an Italian, who was engaged in the great undertaking of bringing water from the Semmering Mountains, a hundred miles distant, for the supply of Vienna, the works of which were to be opened on the following day by the Emperor. Mr. and Mrs. Richard were fortunate in obtaining tickets to view the ceremonial, which was very interesting. Subsequently, M. Gabrelli told Mr. Richard that in the construction of these colossal waterworks not a single German was engaged; all were Italians, who were far more industrious. The

general impression of the diarist, as formed from his observations of Vienna—perhaps too limited a range—was that the Austrians are not a hard-working people, for they spend a great part of their time in eating, drinking, and playing billiards at the cafés and restaurants. He found, also, that Vienna was passing through a serious financial crisis, arising from a widespread building mania, and the formation of speculative companies, in consequence of which the value of the stock of these various societies had become depreciated to the amount of twenty-two millions sterling. Indeed, the losses in Austria by the collapse of all kinds of speculative schemes during 1873 were unprecedented and widespread.

In the course of an interview with General Eber, whom Mr. Richard had met at the American Embassy, that officer told him he had already spoken to M. Deak about his mission, and that the Hungarian statesman had expressed a wish that the hon. member should visit him at Pesth. Under date October 29, we find the following entry on the subject :—

This was good news, for M. Deak is the one man in Hungary whose support it is important to gain. He occupies a very peculiar position. He is not in office and never has been, except for a short time after the revolution of 1848. But his political power is far greater than that of all the Ministers put together. The Government, indeed, seem to depend for their existence upon his patronage and support, and he could, it is said, at any time defeat them. But in general he loyally supports them. This extraordinary power he has won in part by the entire confidence which the simplicity and disinterestedness of his character inspires, combined with great statesmanlike sagacity, and an eloquence which is not florid or

rhetorical, but marked by extreme lucidity and earnestness. It was, moreover, by his influence that the scheme for peaceably uniting the Austro-Hungarian nation was accomplished, which has hitherto worked well, healing a long-standing and dangerous feud, which occasioned much heart-burning and bloodshed. M. Deak lives, and has lived for twenty years, at the Queen of England Hotel, occupying two or three rooms, and living quite alone, in great simplicity and isolation. In the evening General Eber came, and told us he had seen M. Deak, who would receive us in the morning about ten or eleven o'clock.

October 30.—General Eber came about half-past ten and took us to the Queen of England Hotel. There we were introduced to M. Deak, with whom we found a bishop, whose name I did not catch, and Baron Winkheim, the Hungarian Minister, in personal attendance on the Emperor. The bishop left, but the baron remained, and was shortly joined by another of the Ministers, Count Zichy, the Minister of Commerce. Whether their presence was accidental, or he had invited them to meet me, I don't know. After general greetings, I explained in English the object of my mission, which was translated by General Eber. Then M. Deak replied in Hungarian, which was also translated by the General. M. Deak said he was most thoroughly penetrated with the importance of the idea of which I am the advocate. I could not be more so myself, and that not merely on humanitarian and philanthropic grounds, and in its bearing on civilisation, but also on financial grounds. For not only is war more expensive than peace, but present circumstances make the state of peace almost as bad as that of war. He finds it just and proper that England should take the lead in this question, for England has always acted a leading part in the affairs of nations, and its circumstances are specially favourable to its action in a matter of this sort. But the idea is one that can only triumph gradually, for it is necessary that it should be propagated not only among all the nations of Europe, but in America and Asia, between which and Europe there were now many important relations. Therefore, he was very glad to hear what I had said about the probability of other legislatures taking up the question. He was quite in favour of bringing the question forward in the Hungarian Legislature, but he thought it could not be done with advantage

immediately. They were deeply pre-occupied with financial questions. They had to settle their budget, or, rather, to find the means to meet their expenses, and it would be difficult for the moment to get men's attention fixed on other subjects. But when that was disposed of, then he thought it would come in very fitly, as bearing on the future of those finances themselves, as the adjustment of their financial difficulties would depend on their ability to reduce their military establishments. He was glad to hear me say that our movement was not intended in any spirit of hostility to the Governments. As a supporter of the Hungarian Government, he could not do anything that would be inconvenient or disagreeable to it. He would speak privately to his friends about bringing forward the question, and, though he would not bring it forward himself, he would certainly support it. But it must be coupled with the understanding that they will be always prepared to do everything that was necessary for the security and defence of their country. He expressed his pleasure at having had the opportunity of making my acquaintance.

The travellers crossed over the Danube to Buda by the great suspension bridge, and climbed the hill to enjoy the splendid prospect of the river and neighbouring country to be obtained from its summit. On the following day M. Trefort, Minister of Public Instruction—"a very pleasant man, simple and perfectly unaffected in his manners"—paid his respects to Mr. Richard, and they had some conversation on the state of education in Hungary.

On returning to Vienna, Mr. and Mrs. Richard paid their final visit to the Exhibition, which was about to close. There was an immense crowd of people to take a last look at the wonderful Show, who, no doubt, must have regretted that so magnificent a collection of the productions of commerce, industry, and art should be doomed to dispersion. "The scene," says

the diary, "was a brilliant one. What with the splendour of the Exhibition itself, the vast concourse of people, the glitter of the playing fountains, the music from three or four admirable bands, the picturesque uniforms and brilliant costumes, it was a *tout ensemble* not easily to be forgotten." Baron de Kubeck, a member of the Reichsrath, having expressed a strong desire to see Mr. Richard, he decided to remain at Vienna a few days longer. In the course of the interview that statesman described in detail the state of parties in Austro-Hungary.

On the 4th of November a visit was paid to the newly-elected Reichsrath, under the courteous escort of Baron de Kubeck. The Chamber—which was used temporarily, a new and more imposing one being at the time in course of erection in the Ring-strasse—accommodated 352 members, and was arranged in the commodious form of most continental legislative halls, there being a tribune for the speakers, and the public being admitted by tickets from an official on the spot. The business on this occasion was formal—including the reading of the oath, or declaration of fidelity to the Constitution, in German, Italian, Polish, and (by special request) in Sclavonic. A demand that it should be read in the Illyrian language was promptly negatived. Then the members severally took the oath, and the House adjourned. Baron de Kubeck, after some consultation with several of his colleagues, said they were of opinion that the introduction of the arbitration question should be deferred, perhaps till February. It

is the custom of the Emperor to deliver his address at the Imperial Palace, the Reichsrath being summoned for that purpose. Mr. Richard was naturally anxious to be present on so interesting an occasion. None of his Austrian friends, however, could help him, and Sir Andrew Buchanan could not be seen, but fortunately Mr. Jay was able to place two tickets at his disposal. The ceremony is thus described :—

November 4th.—Shortly after eleven took a carriage and drove to the Palace. We were ushered in through a succession of rooms lined with the most gorgeously-dressed flunkeys I ever saw, some of them literally plastered all over with gold lace. There were also plenty of splendid uniforms, civil and military. The room in which the reception was to take place was a fine lofty hall supported by variegated marble columns. On either side there were boxes or galleries for the favoured visitors, extending about two-thirds up the hall, but having a wide space at the upper end unoccupied, except by a daïs covered with scarlet cloth and overhung with a canopy, on which was a single chair for the Emperor, which, I suppose, represented the throne. We had seats in the diplomatic box, and were admirably placed for seeing and hearing. Near us sat the British, American, Turkish, Swedish, and other ambassadors. About a quarter to twelve the two Houses entered, many of the members, especially of the Lords, in rich uniforms. All the members stood—the Lords on the right, and the Commons on the left of the throne. Shortly after the Emperor entered and walked up the room, amid considerable cheering, or shouts of Hoch ! hoch ! and took his seat on the daïs. One of the Ministers delivered him a paper containing the speech, which he read with a clear, distinct voice. It seemed to give general satisfaction, as it was repeatedly cheered. Then the Emperor retired and the company dispersed. On either side of the throne there were a few splendidly dressed officers—on the right side Austrians, on the left Hungarians ; the latter with tiger skins hanging over their shoulders.

Subsequently Mr. Richard called upon the editors of

the daily papers in Vienna and left the Arbitration pamphlet, and, with Mrs. Richard, dined with Baron de Kubeck and family, with whom he spent an extremely interesting evening. On the last Sunday at Vienna they attended a Presbyterian service—which was by law regarded as a sort of family service—in a room where the Rev. Dunlop Moore officiated. Religious instruction according to the Presbyterian standard could only be given at his private house. Mr. Moore spoke despondingly of religious liberty in Austria, and of the prospects of Protestantism. There were at that time some 20,000 Protestants in Vienna and its suburbs, but they were for the most part very lukewarm, and abhorred the very name of missionary.

The travellers left Vienna by rail on the 10th of November, passing over the wonderful Semmering Railway, and through the fine Alpine scenery, where the varied autumn tints were on the foliage. They rested for the night at Adelsburg, and next day drove to the far-famed grotto. The wonderful subterranean caves were illuminated for their benefit with 1,800 candles, or "flames," as they are called, which unique spectacle was greatly enjoyed. They then departed for Trieste, but being unsuccessful in seeing some gentlemen to whom they had introductions there, made no stay in the Austrian seaport, but took the train to Venice.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTINENTAL MISSION (*continued*).

When Mr. Richard crossed the Austrian frontier he found himself altogether among sympathising friends. This was, no doubt, due in a measure to the exceptional position of Italy at that time among the nations of Europe, which provoked from one of her statesmen the remark that he devoutly wished his country could be declared neutral territory. Then the most eminent Italian professors had thoroughly studied the question of international relations in its abstract form, dynastic interests and traditions having a very feeble hold upon the governing class, and the people of the Peninsula—taught by Mazzini in the first place, and subsequently by Garibaldi—had a genuine patriotic enthusiasm, and a strong conviction of the folly and calamities of foreign war. In the Austrian Empire the Secretary of the Peace Society had met with some cautious encouragement, but the members of the official classes were chary of fraternising with him. In Italy he was hailed as the Apostle of Peace by all sections of society, and welcomed with unprecedented unanimity and enthusiasm, which was sometimes almost as embarrassing as it was gratifying. Before he left Vienna Mr. Richard received the Italian address, which was the best possible

introduction he could have received. It was as follows:—

To Henry Richard, Esq., M.P.

Sir,—Allow us to transmit to you, from the country of Federico Sclopis, a few words of congratulation on the success obtained by you in the House of Commons, on the 8th of July, with reference to the hallowed and truly humane principle of International Arbitration, one destined to become a custom and a rule in the new Law of Nations.

Although the best reward of your incessant labours is the prospect—presaged by so many signs—of the fulfilment of your magnanimous plan, you will not be displeased to find that we, as Italians, and as men, cordially rejoiced when the Parliament of England, acting as the interpreters of the wishes of mankind in general, gave their sanction to that generous design, and by their example excited everywhere an intense desire for tranquil pursuits, an earnest belief in prescribed progress, and in the sovereignty of Right, and a natural revulsion from the blind fatality of brute force. That joy was also felt by us as friends to concord amongst all peoples, and as friends of peace, that peace which is a boon to all, a bane to none, whilst being the most potent instrument of ordained progress and of all true liberty.

Still continue, honoured Sir, the advocate of all those generous ideas which ever found willing audiences in the country of Wilberforce and Cobden, and which in you now find the eloquence of a venerated interpreter. Receive the good wishes of all who invoke the reign of universal justice on earth, and from us a cordial grasp of the hand, for yourself and your companions in victory, Mr. Mundella and Sir Wilfred Lawson.

This remarkable manifesto is dated September 14, 1873, "the anniversary of the Geneva Award." It was signed by Garibaldi; Generals Menabrea and Durando; the Marquis Torrearsa, President of the Senate; and Count Casati, formerly President; G. Biancheri, President of the Chamber, and G. Pisanelli, Vice-President;

G. Lanza, Ex-President of the Council, Q. Sella (afterwards Premier); Count Arrivabene, Count di San Martini, the Marquis Pallavicini, the Marquis Fontanelle, G. Vacca, and other senators; a number of deputies, including Mancini, Count Pianciani, G. Capponi, the Duke of Sermoneta, Aurelio Saffi, Ricasoli, G. Manzoni, Depretis, F. Crispi (the present Prime Minister of Italy); many University professors, including P. Starbaro, of Modena, presidents of scientific and artistic societies, barristers, and the Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce of Venice, Florence, Milan, Naples, Rome, Palermo, Cagliari, Bologna, Genoa, Leghorn, and Messina. Subsequently Mr. Richard sent a reply to this flattering address, in which, after expressing his profound gratitude for this "signal honour," he says that it will afford him great encouragement "to persevere in a work which has received this testimony of sympathy and approval from such a select body of enlightened minds and generous hearts," and he regards this "*national* demonstration" as a fresh aid and impulse to the cause he has so much at heart. "The voice of Italy, speaking with such profound conviction and such harmonious unity, in the interests of justice and humanity, cannot fail to command the attention and to influence the opinion of the civilised world."

Under such favourable auspices the Secretary of the Peace Society entered upon his Italian tour. He reached Venice after a fatiguing railway journey by night. Having taken a day's rest for correspondence he made a series of calls upon eminent citizens. Ere long

Mr. Richard received an invitation to dine with the municipal authorities, but he was informed that none of the expected guests spoke English, and it was wished that he should address the company in French—a request which, as he says, made him miserable for the rest of the day. As usual, the travellers used such leisure as they had for sight-seeing. They visited St. Mark's and other churches, the Doge's Palace, the Bridge of Sighs, and the Lion's Mouth, into which in olden times anonymous denunciations were dropped. They saw, also, the rooms in which the accused were arraigned, where the inquisitors sat in silent conclave, the chamber of torture, with the pulley still remaining by which the unhappy victims were hoisted, the dismal passage through which the condemned were conducted, and the place of secret execution where they were beheaded. "These scenes," says the diarist, "made one thank God that the whole of that apparatus of violence and cruelty had been swept out of existence. 'Say not in thine heart, that the former times were better than these.'" The streets of Venice swarmed with beggars, and they were informed that no less than 11,000 of the population were still living on public charity. During the Austrian occupation education was much neglected, but so great progress had since been made, that one half of the children were then at school, though no compulsion was used, instruction being for the most part secular and gratuitous.

The banquet took place in the largest hotel in the city, the company representing the principal magistrates,

lawyers, merchants, educationists, and artists of Venice. Mr. Richard gives the following account of the entertainment:—

On my right hand was Signor Tecchio, Senator, President of the local Court of Appeal, who was for several years President of the Chamber of Deputies. On my left, M. Ruffini, representative of the municipality, the Syndic not being in town. After dinner M. Ruffini proposed my health in a short speech, full of cordial assurances of the deep interest felt in Venice for the cause I represented. Then I had to get up to deliver my French speech, which my wife says I did very well, but she is not a very impartial witness where I am concerned; at any rate, it was very well received and greatly applauded. I ended by proposing as a toast, "To the prosperity of Venice and all Italy—la bella Italia." A telegram was read from Count Sclopis, President of the late Geneva Tribunal, with a very cordial message, ending with the English words: "Welcome, and hearty compliments to the Champion of Peace." On retiring afterwards to the drawing-room for coffee, I was introduced personally to many of the friends. Mrs. Richard, who was the only lady present, had a splendid bouquet presented to her on her entrance by Signor Guiriati.

Subsequently Mr. Richard received a very sympathetic address from the Working Men's Association of Venice, signed on their behalf by MM. Vanin and Errera, in which they assured him of the confidence and esteem with which the people of the Italian Peninsula had watched his noble mission. In his reply he said that one of his cherished aspirations in his peace movement was that he might do something thereby "to relieve the sufferings, and improve the condition of the millions of the industrial classes, who have been so long and so sorely oppressed by the heavy burdens of all kinds imposed upon them by the war system of Europe."

A few days' pause at Verona, which forms part of the famous Quadrilateral that the Austrians vainly hoped would be a perpetual obstacle to Italian independence, enabled the tourists to visit the great Amphitheatre, 1,800 years old, which would accommodate 22,000 persons, and where in ancient times gladiators contended with wild beasts, and Christians are said to have been thrown to the lions. From the summit there is a grand view, extending even to Solferino, where the great battle was fought in 1859 between the Austrians and the French. There was some hope that the travellers would get an interval of rest, during which they might inspect the Italian lakes. They did indeed spend a few hours on Lake Garda, enjoying greatly its picturesque scenery; but hurrying on to Milan, they found there a telegram from Signor Mancini, at Rome, informing them that that gentleman's motion on arbitration would come on in two days. It was a call of duty, and, although it somewhat deranged Mr. Richard's programme, he started at once for Rome. In Milan, happening to be short of money, and unable on the instant to cash his circular notes, the landlord of the Hotel Cavour obligingly offered to lend him any amount required. Eighteen hours by express train, partly by night, brought them to Rome on the morning of November 24, and at the hotel there was a message saying that the motion was to come on that afternoon. The memorable scene in the Chamber is best described in Mr. Richard's own words :—

At the appointed hour M. Pierantoni came and took us to the

House. He showed us over the various parts of the Chamber, the rooms of the President, the Library, &c., and introduced us to many of the members, who expressed great pleasure in making my acquaintance. In the Library met Professor Starbaro, who had been the active agent in getting up the Italian address to me, and procuring the many eminent signatures attached to it—an enthusiastic little man, who, delighted beyond measure, took me into his arms and kissed me on both cheeks. Met Mr. Dudley Field and Mr. Miles. We all went into the gallery belonging to the President of the Assembly, or the Speaker, as we should call him. The Chamber of Deputies is a large circular building resembling a theatre. Professor Mancini, M. Macchi, and other members came to speak to us. The first business was the election of the different committees into which the House is divided for different purposes. They vote by ballot. A series of boxes is placed on the table near the President's chair. The name of each member is called, and he places the list of members for whom he votes in the boxes. Thus seven or eight committees are chosen at once.

About three o'clock M. Mancini began to speak. His son-in-law interpreted to us in French the substance of his speech. He made several allusions to my motion in the House of Commons, and in closing referred to the presence of Mr. Field and myself in the gallery. He was listened to with the greatest attention throughout, though there was not much cheering till the close, when general signs of approval came from all parts of the Chamber. It was an able speech, and adapted with great skill to the feelings of his audience. He spoke for about an hour. Then the Minister for Foreign Affairs followed, and announced, on the part of the Government, that the motion was accepted without reserve. After him the reporter of the Committee on Finances, in a few earnest sentences, supported the resolution, which was then put by the President. They vote by rising, and the whole assembly, including those on the Ministerial benches, rose with one accord. M. Mancini's motion did not go so far as mine, and did not prescribe any immediate action of the Government. But it involved a full approval of the principle of arbitration, and its acceptance by the Government, and the unanimous vote of the House was a great triumph. I felt much tempted to break forth into a cheer when I witnessed the result.

In the same gallery with us were Madame Mancini, the wife of M. Mancini's son, to whom we were introduced. When it was over, M. Mancini, M. Castiglia, whom I formerly knew at Florence, M. Macchi, M. Gallenga, the correspondent of the *Times*, and other gentlemen, came up to congratulate me. It was a moment of profound satisfaction and pleasure.*

More than once Mr. Richard met Mr. and Mrs. James Spicer in the Eternal City. They were making a tour in the company of Dr. Davis, of the Religious Tract Society. Opportunity was also found to visit at his studio Mr. Penry Williams, the distinguished artist, who was born at Merthyr, and had lived a somewhat secluded life at Rome for thirty years, having entirely forgotten his native Welsh tongue. The banquet to be given to the honourable member put him in sore

* The exact terms of Professor Mancini's resolution were as follows:—"The Chamber trusts that His Majesty's Government will endeavour, in their relations with Foreign Powers, to render arbitration an acceptable and frequent mode of solving, according to the dictates of equity, such international questions as may admit of that mode of arrangement, as well as to introduce opportunely into any Treaties with those Powers, a clause to the effect that any difference of opinion respecting the interpretation and execution of those Treaties is to be referred to Arbitrators, and to promote Conventions between Italy and other civilised nations of a nature to render uniform and obligatory, in the interests of the respective peoples, the essential rules of Private International Right." Some weeks after the return of Mr. Richard to England, a flattering congratulatory address was sent to M. Mancini in reference to his successful motion. It was signed by Mr. Henry Pease, President of the Peace Society, and others of its officials, the Bishop of Manchester, large numbers of members of Parliament, the leading members of several religious denominations, representatives of Chambers of Commerce, and the chief magistrates of a number of cities and boroughs. Signor Mancini was shortly after appointed Minister of Justice in the Italian Government, and his zeal in the Peace cause never slackened. He did not survive his friend, Mr. Richard, many months, and the remarkable attendance at his funeral indicated the great estimation in which he was held by his countrymen.

perplexity. A long-standing cold, aggravated by night travelling, engendered such hoarseness that he almost lost his voice, and medical advice gave him little relief. There was a Conference at the Palace of the Capitol to form an Italian committee to co-operate with that established at Brussels for the reform and codification of International Law. The time, however, was so short that Mr. Richard luckily escaped speaking; and after all the ordeal at the Hotel di Roma was not so trying as he had expected:—

At seven the banquet took place in a fine room, happily at our hotel—the Hotel di Roma. There were about eighty gentlemen present—senators, deputies, professors, and representatives of the municipality and the press. There would have been a much larger number of members of the Chamber, but the discussion on the Budget was on that day, and the House did not break up till close upon the dinner hour. As it was, most of them came in morning dress, for which they made many excuses. M. Mancini presided. I sat on his right, and his left was M. Pisandli, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Chamber. Beyond him was Mr. Field, and Mr. Miles was on the left of the chair. M. Mancini, in an eloquent speech, which was greatly applauded, proposed the health of the guests of the evening, dwelling in very kind language on what he was pleased to call my long services to the cause of humanity, and quoting Mr. Gladstone's remark that the mantle of Mr. Cobden had fallen upon me, &c. Two or three others followed in the same strain. Then I got up, and after a few sentences of the best French I could muster, to excuse myself for not speaking to them in Italian or in French, spoke in English for about a quarter of an hour. Whether it was the excitement, or the heat of the room, or the good dinner, I found that my throat was loosened, and I could speak with tolerable ease. Mr. Stuart, who is the correspondent of the *Daily News*, a gentleman of English parentage but born in Italy, interpreted my speech as well as could be expected under the circumstances. Judging from their responses, there must have been a

considerable number of those present who fairly understood English. Mr. Field then read a short speech in Italian, which was very successful. Pierantoni, Starbaro, Miler, and others followed, and the party broke up about ten o'clock. Madame Mancini and her daughter called to see us next afternoon at the hotel.

A day or two afterwards a deputation from the Freemasons of Italy, represented by M. Mazzoni, the Grand Master, and MM. Macchi, Tamago, and Castelraggo, called to present Mr. Richard with an address, thanking him for his services in the cause of peace and humanity. He made a brief verbal acknowledgment of the honour, and promised to send a suitable written address. He also received a flattering address from the Agricultural Society of Lombardy—whose plains have so often been the scene of carnage—in which it was said that the cultivators of the soil, who are so dependent on the preservation of peace, congratulated him on the success of his philanthropic movement. The address was signed by more than five hundred landed proprietors and cultivators. And to these were added the signatures of the President of the Agricultural Commission of Milan, and of similar Committees in Mantua and other districts of Lombardy. In company with the Rev. Mr. Burchett, a young English clergyman, he visited some of the educational institutions of Rome—such as the Lyceum, where there is a technical school, in which no religious instruction is given, and the elementary schools under the care of the Roman Municipality, where the children of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are educated. On the evening of

the same day he met at the house of the same missionary the late William and Mary Howitt and their daughter, the authoress of "Two Years with Frederika Bremer," and was very pleased to be brought into contact with a family with whose writings he was well acquainted. He found William Howitt bright in mind, brisk and vigorous, though then eighty-three years of age. Next day Mr. Richard had an interview with Signor Minghetti, the Prime Minister—"a pleasant and affable man"—who told him that the chamber in which they were sitting was the very one where Galileo met the Inquisition, and was compelled to recant his theory about the motion of the earth round the sun.

As far as possible the Italian capital was explored. As occasion offered, Mr. Richard and his wife visited the Pincio, the Coliseum, the Vatican Gallery, and St. Peter's. Mr. Richard greatly admired the grandeur and gorgeousness of the great cathedral, but the emotions it excited were rather those which belong to a place of show than to a place of worship. "What a distance," he says, "between the manger of Bethlehem and the Cross of Calvary and this splendid trophy of the triumph of Christianity! Alas! that so much of the simplicity that is in Christ should have been lost or overlaid by accretions of human folly or infirmity during the long transition."

The Secretary of the Peace Society left Rome profoundly grateful for the cordiality of his welcome by men of all parties, more especially for the unwearied kindness of Professor Pierantoni, son-in-law of M.

Mancini, who had come from Naples expressly to meet Mr. Field and himself. He was at that time Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Naples, where he was in the habit of delivering lectures to some five hundred young men.

The travellers on leaving Rome spent a few days at Florence, where Mr. Richard received an address from the women of Italy, which was presented by the Baroness Monti and other ladies. It was designed to "answer the twofold purpose of expressing our thanks to Mr. Richard, the House of Commons, and good Queen Victoria, and of beseeching our own Parliament and our Government to co-operate with England in promoting the principle embodied in Mr. Richard's motion." The honourable member returned to Milan, where he was received with remarkable enthusiasm. The banquet given in his honour was presided over by the Syndic (Senator Belinzaghi), and several Parliamentary deputies, members of the City Council, the leaders of the Freemason Lodges of Northern Italy, and other representative men were present. Addresses were delivered by various speakers, and the warmest sympathy with the guest of the evening was expressed. In responding, Mr. Richard referred with emphasis to the many signs he had noted of the wonderful revival of national life in Italy, which seemed to him little less than a miracle, and particularly to the immense progress of education throughout the country. This was specially observable in Milan, whose schools he had visited. If Italy was ready

to become the apostle of peace to the nations, he could promise her the powerful concurrence of the Anglo-Saxon race in England and America. Italy has not, however, since 1873, shown much inclination that way. One of the results of this festive meeting was the subsidence of party feeling in the city. "It was," said a local newspaper, "the first occasion for many years on which we have seen men belonging to political parties of discordant views conversing familiarly, and shaking hands in a friendly manner on taking leave of each other." From Milan, Mr. Richard proceeded to Turin, the special object of his visit to that city being to make the personal acquaintance of the illustrious Count Sclopis, the President of the Tribunal at Geneva which made the Anglo-American award—an application of the arbitration principle on a large scale, which, as Mr. Gladstone said, "has done so much for mankind at large by the example it has set of a peaceful settlement of disputes as a substitute for the bloody arbitrament of war." Nothing could exceed the warmth of the welcome given to Mr. and Mrs. Richard by the Count and his estimable lady. On the evenings of two out of the three days they were able to spend at Turin they were at the house of Count Sclopis, and there they met a large company of ladies and gentlemen belonging to the first society of the city. Mr. Richard's time not permitting of a more public demonstration at Turin, as had been proposed, his peace tour in Italy came to an end with this visit.

The hon. member was under a promise to spend a few days in Paris on his return journey, with his

honoured friend, M. Frederic Passy, Vice-President of the Peace Society in that city, and an eminent journalist. Accordingly, he reached the French capital on the 19th of December, and had the pleasure of renewing acquaintance with many old friends. A public banquet in his honour was given at the Grand Hotel on the 21st of December, and was presided over by M. Renouard, Procurator-General of the Court of Cassation, who was supported by M. Garnier, of the Economist Society, M. Franck, member of the Institute, Mr. James Miles, U.S., M. de Parieu, General Meredith Read, and M. de Pressensé. Among the eighty guests were Deputies of the Assembly, jurisconsults, economists, the heads of commercial firms, members of learned societies, and journalists. It was stated that if time had allowed there would have been a much larger assembly to welcome Mr. Richard, M. Passy having a host of letters from men of all classes expressing regret at their inability to be present. On the wall facing the hon. member were the flags of the four nations that had supported Arbitration grouped around a shield, bearing the words "8th July, 1873," the date of Mr. Richard's triumph in the House of Commons. After the President had briefly proposed the health of their guest M. Passy delivered a touching and effective speech, in which he expatiated in warm terms on the philanthropic character of the object which Mr. Richard had worked so hard to promote, on the significant fact that he had been supported by a majority in the House of Commons, and on the very

moderate opposition of the Cabinet to his proposal. Mr. Richard's long intimacy with Mr. Cobden, and his previous travels in 1869 70 through Europe to advocate a general disarmament, were also eulogised, in which enterprise he would probably have succeeded but for "the mad enterprise" of July, 1870. Thus the rock which appeared to have almost attained the summit of the mountain rebounded upon them, and the people, who were anxious to avoid all war, were precipitated into its horrors, perhaps merely for want of twenty-four hours' delay—an appeal from sudden passion to calm judgment. It seemed as if all was lost. Some people, as Mr. Richard said, were "the apostles of despair;" there were others who might be regarded as pillars of hope, believing with St. Paul that evil would be overcome with good. For months and months the difference between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations had kept the world in suspense; yet, as Count Sclopis, the honoured President of that illustrious Areopagus, had written to him:—"In six days we unravelled a knot which had appeared inextricable." In the concluding part of his elaborate address, after an emphatic eulogy on Mr. Gladstone as a statesman who ranked among the champions of peace and progress in Europe, M. Passy summed up the more recent labours of his honoured guest, and concluded by saying:—

"Dear and illustrious friend! The welcome which we give you is, I regret, not that which we could have desired to offer; and in comparing this reception with the ovations you have had elsewhere, you might, if you regarded it from a personal point

of view, deem this but a modest one. You have not before you, as at Rome, the acclamations of all Italy and the halls of the old Capitol. We do not come before you, as at the Hague, with songs and united choruses, to lead you in triumph to the palm-tree of peace. But how could we, in the sad position in which war has left us, be light of heart; and what joy could we evince without some intermingling of melancholy and regret for the past? In the name of all present, and before we give you our acclamations, I formally salute you for the rest. Allow me to repeat once more that you have gained our sympathy and our admiration. And I beg also be allowed to associate with this toast—which we drink to your labours, your success, and yourself—the name of her who has shared in that success and in those labours—her whose affection maintains your heart—Mrs. Richard. Gentlemen, I give you the good health of our guests—Mr. Henry Richard and Mrs. Richard." (Loud and continued applause.)

When Mr. Richard rose to respond, he spoke a few words in French, to express regret that he could not adequately address his audience in their own language. Then, "in beautifully articulated English" to quote the excellent sketch that appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, "he delivered a very earnest and telling speech."

With respect to his special Utopia, he said, he would ask those who considered it so difficult to realise, to think for a moment what would be the effect if there were no laws to settle the disputes which were continually arising between individuals and groups of men belonging to the same nation. Had not the progress of civilisation done away entirely with the settlement of these differences by brute force? And why, now that the individual nations had reached this state of progress, should Europe, as a whole, still remain in a state of barbarism? Mr. Gladstone's principal objection to his motion was that public opinion was not yet prepared for such a desirable way of settling questions in which the national honour and prestige were at stake. And it was to try to meet this objection that he had just been travelling through the length and breadth of Europe. What had been the result of his

attempt? Wherever he had presented himself he had received a ready and cordial assent to his proposition. Nobody knew better than he how deeply the military system had struck its roots into the moral soil of all nations. But he was not discouraged, for with such powerful allies as reason, justice, humanity, civilisation, commerce, and industry, victory would surely remain on his side. Mr. Richard concluded with these words—"As far as my share in the work is concerned, if I do not live to see it rewarded with success, I shall not despair, for there are some enterprises in which it is more glorious to fail than it would be in most others to conquer." A double round of applause followed these last words. It was frequently interrupted by exclamations of "Très-bien," and general applause; the greater part, if not all, of the Frenchmen present appeared to follow the fascinating declamation with as much interest as they would have done, had it been delivered in their own language.

M. de Pressensé followed in a short speech, and the company broke up, after pledging themselves in a parting cup "to fight for peace."

Thus came to an end Mr. Richard's protracted and most successful visit to the Continent. The first thought of some readers of these pages will probably be that the Apostle of Peace was, after all, an impracticable enthusiast. They will mentally compare the period of 1873 with that of 1851, and of 1889 with 1873, and be disheartened at the undoubted fact that during the first interval occurred the most desolating conflicts of modern times—the Crimean War, and the Franco-German War; and that in the second interval the armaments of Europe have become more gigantic and burdensome than was ever before known. Has then the Peace movement been an abortion? The question is put fairly, without a disposition to ride off on abstract principles, save to remark that the Peace

question is bound up with the teachings of Christianity, and that if the Christian faith has done aught to regenerate man, so also has the doctrine of fraternity to soften international relations. The question is, has there been decided progress in the international sense, notwithstanding these terrible struggles? That there has may be fairly inferred from the fact that arbitration in international differences has become increasingly acceptable and accepted—as in the case of the Geneva Award—during the last half-century, and that the public opinion of the civilised world is more and more hostile to the inordinate growth and rivalry of armaments. At present all Europe has come to a dead-lock, and is appalled at the Frankenstein which it has created. The great States, with their huge armies and horrible scientific instruments of destruction, to say nothing of the strong ties that commerce has created, are nervously afraid of any action that will precipitate a catastrophe, and bring about a general war.

This state of suspense, involving crushing burdens on taxpayers everywhere, cannot much longer be maintained, and must, one would think, issue in a general conflagration, or in the adoption of some means of mitigating the enormous pressure. The hope that the latter alternative may be realised lies in the tremendous responsibility that is now felt by the arbiters of the world, such as the Emperor of Russia and Prince Bismarck, in the general progress of civilisation, and in bringing to bear, in some organised and practical form, the mass of opinion confessedly in favour of

peace and of mutual disarmament. It is difficult to believe that the current of international feeling that rose so high in Europe during the years 1848–51 in favour of pacific progress has entirely vanished; or to take a more specific case, that the marvellous demonstrations favourable to arbitration, in which *all* sections of the Italian people shared in 1873, have been of no avail whatever. Christianity and reason, which have so effectually extinguished barbarism and feudal customs, such as duelling—at all events among Anglo-Saxon nations—and have given a mortal blow to the slave trade and slavery, can surely, if made pervasive, greatly minimise the chances of war, now that the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration has become so well understood, so often successfully practised, and to a large extent so popular. Why should we despair that in due time the States of Europe should assimilate their international policy to that of the American Republic, where the clashing interests of some thirty States are harmonised by a Central Executive, and war, in the European sense, is unknown? Is this aspiration Utopian? If not, how far would the combined and sustained influence of the Christian Church, all its sections working perseveringly together, avail to bring it about or hasten it? In view of the possible solution of a tremendous problem with which is bound up the welfare of humanity, how ineffably paltry and baneful appear the ecclesiastical rivalries and contentions of Christendom! *

* The following reflections on this momentous subject were suggested

Again and again during the last century the question of a European Federation, with the view of preventing wars, has engaged the attention of eminent jurists and philosophers, and was indeed, strangely enough, the subject of serious consideration by Napoleon I. while in captivity at St. Helena. Some few years ago Dr. Bluntschli, the eminent German Professor of International Law, evolved an elaborate scheme having that object in view, the chief features of which

to an honoured friend—a politician of great experience—after seeing the above in proof. They take a somewhat wider view of the general aspects of the question, and of the difficulties yet to be overcome, but the conclusion is substantially the same—viz., that the consummation, though distant, is not Utopian:—"The question, 'Has the Peace movement of which Mr. Richard was the leader been a failure?' will be differently answered, according to the extent of the view taken, and the expectation accordingly formed, of the general progress of the human race. A similar question might be raised as to every endeavour to raise and purify the practice of mankind. The interests of peace, however, cannot be isolated, although they may be promoted by special agencies. This is not one of those cases in which the exposure of some error of judgment, or the discovery of previously unknown truth, at once revolutionises human methods. What is to be done is more than the correction of a prevalent mistake. The prejudices of false education and perverted history, degraded and despairing estimates of human nature, and the systematic cultivation of the lower impulses of our race, have been doing for ages a work which is not to be undone in a day. Our poets have extolled, our divines justified, and our statesmen practised, war, not only for the defence of existing interests, but as a means of national aggrandisement. Accordingly a great system of social interests has gathered around the practice, and consolidated its defence. This, however, has been possible in our country and in France only under political conditions which are passing, if they have not already passed away. Neither France nor Germany desired the war of 1870, which was forced upon the people of both countries by a wicked abuse of power possible under personal government. The French Government dare not, and could not now 'fire the nation's heart' by a lying telegram. In this country the power of the executive government remains in form what it was before our representation in the legislature was democratised; but, although the classes may not yet have learned to acknowledge the new limits imposed on their means of action, those limits are nevertheless real, and on occasion would prove operative. The political education of

were a Common Federal Council, representing the several Governments, and a House of Representatives elected in due proportion from the several European Legislatures—the presidency being vested in one or other of the Great Powers, elected annually. But his scheme differed from that of the United States and the Swiss Confederation by providing that the European Bund should not have the power of taxation or possess a Federal army.

nations is a gradual and even slow process, but it goes on, at any rate, among the common people, upon whom in all cases the heavy burdens of war fall with the fewest compensations. Perhaps, however, the most encouraging lesson of modern history is found in the United States of America, which, in the words of Professor Seeley, have solved the problem of the abolition of war, created a virtue beyond patriotism, and exhibited to the world the spectacle of States without war establishments, and subsisting side by side as amicably as departments or counties. True, their former peace was interrupted, but, to quote the same eminent writer, if their war was gigantic, it must not be confounded with the wars of Europe. It was a war against war, a war for the principle of union and against division, and therefore a war followed by disarmament and real peace. The movements that are taking place to bring about a common understanding between the most numerous classes of different countries of the Continent, favour the hope that a Federation of the United States of Europe may one day be created as a superior uniting Power, protecting people formerly often and easily arrayed against one another. Meanwhile the sentiment of a common interest is growing as the fearful consequences of war on the modern scale are brought home to the imagination and the heart. Ideas spread now with a rapidity unknown and inconceivable within living memory, and the aims of unwelcome movements originating with the people have been accepted by statesmen and legislatures. War is the greatest evil for which nations are called to find a remedy, and it threatens all. It is thus one in which the political and the religious consciousness of peoples are in accord. If the work to be done is still great, the forces at command for achieving it surpass in efficiency any that have existed in previous ages, and the demand for a substitute for war will never pass from the heart of the world, or from the solicitude of the best of the race, until some means have been found for adjusting the differences which have hitherto been left to the capricious arbitrament of the sword. It follows that the work will be accomplished, and that if methods now recognised should not prove sufficient for the purpose, others will be found."

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874, AND PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

When Mr. Richard returned home just before Christmas (1873), he found that the prestige of the Gladstone Administration had still further diminished. Mr. Disraeli's astute tactics in the summer had done more to place the Government in a false position than his reiterated charges of "blundering and plundering."* Worn in body and in mind, the Prime Minister was weary of office. This may account for his sudden resolution to go to the country. Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of January, 1874, and in his address to the electors of Greenwich, Mr. Gladstone advocated an extension of the suffrage to the counties, and the abolition of the income tax. The latter was denounced as a bribe to the electorate. But the Premier had long since pledged himself to abolish the tax when the finances would allow; and there was now an enormous surplus of six millions to be disposed of. The address of Mr. Disraeli somewhat ignored the income tax proposal, but dwelt upon the necessity of

* Mr. Forster, who was still a Cabinet Minister, described the Government as being much harassed by the petty defeats and humiliations to which they were subject since Mr. Disraeli's refusal to relieve them of the cares of office.

"more energy" in respect to foreign affairs, and of internal reforms, without incessant "harassing legislation." Mr. Gladstone's manifesto did not arouse enthusiasm in the country—the "interests" were against him; Nonconformists lukewarm, if not hostile; the Metropolis and the home counties, with their far-extending "villadom," showed strong Conservative leanings; and in Ireland Liberalism as such was all but extinguished by Nationalism. The reaction in the constituencies gave Mr. Disraeli a majority of about fifty. Without waiting for the customary formalities, Mr. Gladstone promptly resigned, and the Tory chief at once accepted office. His principal colleagues were Lord Derby, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Lord Salisbury, Secretary for India; Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Cross, Home Minister; Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Secretary for Ireland.

Mr. Richard's re-election for Merthyr was a matter of course, but the borough did not escape a contest. The seat of Mr. Fothergill, who stood with Mr. Richard, was challenged by Mr. Halliday, Secretary of the Miners' Association, who was defeated by a majority of nearly 2,000. The senior member received 7,606 votes, being 2,694 more than the votes given to the new candidate. Not a single paid canvasser was employed on his behalf. Mr. Richard had, however, to regret the loss of several of his colleagues, especially Mr. E. M. Richards, with whom he had been closely associated for the past five years, who was defeated in Cardiganshire,

many Liberals holding aloof from fear of the screw; Mr. Alfred Illingworth, who failed to secure his seat for Knaresborough; and Mr. Miall, whose feeble health had obliged him to retire from Bradford and from Parliamentary life before the general election. Without these friends, subsequently remarked the honourable member, "he should feel like a sparrow on the house-top." The Liberal Party in the House was now thoroughly disorganised, and this misfortune was aggravated by the announcement that Mr. Gladstone could only undertake to be temporary leader, and to be occasionally in the House. The prospect of such Parliamentary enfeeblement was most unsatisfactory, and early in 1875 it became absolutely necessary to select some recognised representative of the Party to be its active leader. Some were in favour of Mr. W. E. Forster, but many Nonconformists, as well as independent politicians, strongly objected to his nomination, and the right honourable gentleman loyally requested that his name might be withdrawn. In the end, Lord Hartington was generally accepted as the Liberal leader.

These are not the pages in which to discuss the general domestic policy—or no policy—of the new Administration. It may suffice to say that the great surplus was frittered away by Sir Stafford Northcote—the best features of whose Budget were the provision for terminable annuities, and an abatement of one penny from the income tax; that the clamorous "interests" were signally ignored; and that, although the First Lord of the Admiralty discovered that the country

only had "a paper fleet," he asked for no more than £100,000 extra to make it thoroughly efficient! There was no attempt at heroic legislation except in one particular and unexpected direction. Within a month of the delivery of the Queen's Speech, the country was startled by the presentation in the House of Lords of a Public Worship Regulation Bill, with the approval of Archbishop Tait, and, it was said, the favour of the Court. The Government was forced to regard it as an open question; for it was opposed by Lord Salisbury—who, in connection with it, was described by the Premier as "a great master of gibes, and flouts, and sneers"—and by other High Church Peers. When the Bill came down to the Commons, Mr. Disraeli frankly described it as a measure "to put down Ritualism." Though objected to by Sir Stafford Northcote and two other responsible Ministers, it soon became a Cabinet measure. While Sir W. Harcourt heartily supported the Bill, it was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who moved six resolutions which, he contended, would sufficiently protect congregations from sacerdotal excesses, while leaving the clergy ample freedom in the ordering of Church services. The resolutions were defeated. There were protracted debates on the second reading of the Bill, and amongst the speakers was Mr. Richard, who, with great frankness and cogency, expressed the Nonconformist view of the measure, and seems to have been heard with marked attention. While disavowing hostility to the Church of England as a Church, he regarded her present position

as painful and deplorable to the last degree, for the *Times* had not exaggerated in saying that it was now recognised that a clergyman of the Church of England might teach any doctrine which only extreme subtilty could distinguish from Roman Catholicism on the one side, Calvinism on another side, and Deism on a third side. But that Bill was aimed at one particular class —a class which, as Bishop Jackson said, in his recent charge to the London clergy, regarded the "Catholic revival" as an antidote to the Reformation, which was deplored as a misfortune if not as a sin, so that Archbishop Manning had publicly said that the clergy of the Establishment had relieved the Catholic clergy of the necessity of defending transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. These, Mr. Richard ventured to think, were not the doctrines of the Church of England, nor of the Reformation. It was said that they could receive or reject such pulpit teachings. Yes, he replied, amid decided marks of assent, "but you are, at this very moment, doing all you can to throw the entire education of the young, both secular and religious, into the hands of these men." Mr. Gladstone had made an eloquent eulogy on Christian freedom, to which he could say Amen, especially when the right honourable gentleman virtually advocated the Congregational theory. But that theory did not well apply to the Established Church, the clergy of which were State officials, who enjoyed enormous national endowments, each being put in possession of a freehold for life, under conditions settled by Parliament. Might it not, then, happen that

the freedom of the clergy meant the enslavement of the people? On the other hand, Sir William Harcourt had shown that the Church of England was founded on the Act of Uniformity, "which bound them to preach according to the standards of the Church." Mr. Richard went on to say:—

This idea of absolute uniformity, so strenuously upheld by the learned member for Oxford [Sir William Harcourt], sounded very well in theory. It might appear pleasant to the outer eye to have 20,000 men obliged to speak and do the same thing. But at what a cost do you get this uniformity—at what a cost of intellectual servility, of violence done to conscience, of temptations to disingenuous sophistry in putting such strained interpretations upon the articles and offices of the Church as would, if applied to any other documents, and in any other department of life, be branded as fraudulent and dishonest? This has been going, and is going on openly, and I believe it is seriously injuring the national morality of this country. I believe you are on the wrong tack altogether in trying to regulate the affairs of a great spiritual body by the coarse machinery of the law. There is only one way of escape out of the embarrassments in which you are involved; and now I am going to pronounce the obnoxious word—Disestablishment. (Laughter, and cries of "Hear, hear," and "No, no.") All I desire for the Church of England is that she should enjoy the same privileges that I myself enjoy, that the fetters by which she is bound to the State be cut asunder, so that she may possess that which the humblest Christian community in this land possesses—freedom to order her own affairs, according to her conception of what will most conduce to her own edification, and is most in harmony with the will of her Divine Master.

The Bill passed the Commons, and on being sent back to the Lords, one of Mr. Gladstone's amendments for the enlargement of individual freedom was accepted, Lord Salisbury "utterly repudiating the bugbear of a majority of the House of Commons." That assembly

acquiesced, the Bill passed, and from that time Mr. Disraeli's hold upon the High Church party was sensibly weakened.

In criticising the debate in the Commons, the *Times* challenged Mr. Richard's prediction that the Bill would not meet the core of the mischief, and expressed a confident belief that it would take away at least one-half of it. Subsequent experience has tested these conflicting views. Substantially the Public Worship Regulation Act has been a dead letter, partly because the Episcopal Bench has in the main ignored its provisions, although recent events have shown that it is still the law of the land. But it has not availed to prevent Ritualism from becoming the fashionable mode of embodying the religious sentiment of the upper circles of society, and to a large extent of the middle classes.

This measure was immediately followed by the Scottish Patronage Bill, which abolished the rights of lay patrons, and vested the presentation to livings in the hands of the congregations—thus, in effect, constituting the Established Church in Scotland a sect. The Bill was intended to draw the Presbyterian Dissenting laity into the Established Church, but its actual effect was to drive the Free Church into the arms of the Disestablishment party. Thus the first session of Mr. Disraeli's Parliament was for the most part an ecclesiastical session, for there were laid before Parliament no less than eighteen Bills for regulating the affairs of the Church.

"For a considerable time past," said Mr. Richard, with caustic

humour, in an autumnal speech in Wales, "I have been taking part in what was much more like a Church Convocation than a political legislature. The two interests which have most occupied our attention have been our National Church and our national beverage, and I have been thus oscillating between things spirituous and things spiritual. We have had to discuss the condition, to settle the quarrels, to arrange the internal affairs, or to resist the arrogant aggressions of two Established Churches. Our talk has been of presbyteries and synods, of general assemblies and convocations, of the election of ministers and the payment of salaries, of parishioners and communicants, of the Westminster Confession and the Articles of Religion, of rites and ceremonies, of doctrine and discipline. We have been appealing to, and citing from, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Middle Ages, and the Book of Common Prayer, which has been produced bodily in the House, and extracts read from it in the debates. We have appealed to everything but the Bible. What possible bearing could the instructions given in that Book in reference to voluntary communities of men, sanctified in Christ Jesus, and called to be saints, have upon those strange politico-ecclesiastical bodies—those compounds of Church and world, of religion and politics—called State Churches?"

Mr. Richard's still recent mission to the Continent was naturally the subject of some public attention at home. On the 25th of March there was a soirée at the Cannon Street Hotel, to hear from him an account of his "pilgrimage of peace," and to congratulate him on the successful results of his prolonged labours. Mr. Mundella, who had seconded the arbitration resolution in the preceding session, presided, and there was a very large attendance of the friends of the Peace movement. At the conclusion of an interesting sketch of his Continental tour, Mr. Richard said that he had come back to England with the strongest conviction that there was diffused throughout society in all parts of the Continent,

an intense abhorrence of the war system, and a longing for deliverance. In moving a congratulatory address, Sir Wilfrid Lawson spoke of the acceptance of Mr. Richard's arbitration resolution as the most honourable performance of the late session. He was rejoiced at the settlement of the Alabama claims, for though we had to pay three and a half millions, it was no more than the people of this country drank in about ten days. The work in which his hon. friend was engaged was far more courageous, noble, virtuous, and heroic than the slaughter of one's fellow-men.

In the following month (April) Mr. Richard's fellow-countrymen in London gave him a welcome home at the Cannon Street Hotel. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Puleston, the Conservative member for Devonport, and several Welsh clergymen as well as Nonconformist ministers were present. In a flattering address presented to Mr. Richard, reference was made to his various public services, and his readiness to foster Welsh institutions, such as the national Eisteddfod, and University Colleges, as well as his devoted efforts in the cause of peace. In the course of his reply the hon. member alluded to his efforts during the last forty years to advance the interests of the Principality, to vindicate its reputation, and to convince John Bull that the Welsh in their own qualities, and in their religion, morals, language, and literature, were not a whit inferior to the rest of their fellow-subjects. Gibson, the great sculptor, was some time ago presented to the Queen, and on its being suggested that he was a Scotchman, he drew him-

self up, and replied, "May it please your Majesty, I have the honour to be a Welshman," and so, said Mr. Richard, "I say to all my English fellow-subjects, I have the honour to be a Welshman."

It has been seen that the attempt of the Nonconformists to get rid of the obnoxious 25th Clause of the Education Act of 1870 did not succeed under a Gladstone Administration. Neither did it avail when their political opponents came into power. Mr. Richard made a gallant attempt to bring it about on the 10th of June by moving the repeal of that clause. In the course of a somewhat elaborate speech he showed that the clause was entirely at variance with Mr. Gladstone's engagement that denominational schools should not be assisted out of the rates; that the bearing of the clause was not understood till some time after the Act had passed; that Mr. Forster's proposal to transfer the payment of the fees of indigent children to Boards of Guardians had fallen dead; and that the 25th Clause continued to be an apple of discord throughout the country. To Mr. Forster, who had spoken of that "miserable twopenny-halfpenny clause," he appealed to assist in removing what was a stumbling-block and rock of offence to many; but the appeal was in vain, for the right hon. gentleman voted against him. The debate was very moderate in tone, and finally the resolution was rejected by 245 to 128 votes. But the minority comprised such ex-Ministers as the Marquis of Hartington (then Liberal leader), Mr. Goschen, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Adam—

though nearly all the Irish Nationalists swelled the ranks of the majority.

In the debate referred to Mr. Richard spoke of the new Vice-President of the Council as "a man of liberal spirit and generous sympathies." A little later he found reason to modify this view when Lord Sandon (now the Earl of Harrowby) brought in the Endowed Schools Acts Amendment Bill, which, to a large extent, undid the work of 1869. It restored the ascendency of the Established Church in Grammar Schools, and substituted the authority of the Charity Commissioners for that of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. This was the third important measure of an ecclesiastical bearing introduced during the session by the Tory Government, and was brought in apparently to please the malcontent clergy. It was gratuitous and unexpected, and had the effect of uniting the ranks of the Opposition, who offered the most determined resistance to the Bill. Even Mr. Forster was roused into action by this barefaced attempt to set aside his own Act—which was after all only a compromise—and he was effectively supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Fawcett. Following these statesmen, Mr. Richard indignantly said that the whole body of Nonconformists condemned the Bill as a "stigma and an insult," for it was an intimation that the present Government were the Ministers, not of the people of England, but of that portion which belonged to the Established Church. He had listened to the introductory speech of Lord Sandon with "inexpressible surprise and pain." It was so unlike all the conceptions he had

formed of his character, for he proposed to reverse, not merely the Act of 1869, but the whole spirit of modern legislation, and to put back the hand on the dial of time fifty years. Mr. Richard, further, most effectively turned the tables on the Vice-President of the Council. Little more than a week before Lord Sandon, in support of the Public Worship Bill, contended that a compact between Church and State rested on adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. Yet his lordship had brought in a Bill to shut out the Non-conformists, who he admitted were true Protestants, from all share in the management of these endowed schools, and to deliver them over to the clergy, a formidable proportion of whom were, he had told them, trying to subvert the principles of the Reformation. And this, although the Bill of 1869 had been carried with a perfect chorus of congratulations in both Houses of Parliament, foremost among the eulogists being the Earl of Harrowby, whom the Vice-President must hold in respect and honour.

Mr. Disraeli's Government quailed before the storm it had so wantonly raised. One evening when the Premier found that things were growing too hot for him, and that there was no prospect of carrying the Bill—for some of the more moderate Conservatives were averse to it—he, "with incomparable audacity," withdrew those clauses which had relation to education till the following session, on the ground of their being so obscurely worded that he could not understand them. Of course they were never heard of again. But the

transfer of powers over endowed schools to the Charity Commissioners was carried out.

When Parliament rose, at the close of a session which had certainly impaired the prestige of the new Administration—for it had unexpectedly revealed the reactionary tendencies of Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues in respect to ecclesiastical matters—Mr. Richard, accompanied by his wife, took a short holiday on the Continent, combining business and pleasure. The Association for the Reform and Codification of International Law was to hold its second meeting at Geneva early in September, and thither the travellers proceeded, after spending a day at Paris. On arriving at their destination they found that the other society, the Institute of International Law,* had held a conference in the same city the preceding week, and absorbed the best men, some of whom, such as MM. Bluntschli and Laveleye, and Dr. L. Neumann had already left. There were present, however, MM. Mancini, Pierantoni, Gestenberg, Père Hyacinthe, F. Passy, the Japanese Ambassador at Rome, Sir Travers Twiss, Mr. Dudley Field, Dr. Thompson, Mr. Judge Peabody, Mr. Webster, Mr. Jencken, Mr. Miles, &c. It was decided that the several national committees in connection with the society should be invited to study particular topics of international law and report to the next conference, taking Mr. Field's volume as a text-book.

* The existence of two societies for substantially the same objects seems to have been owing to the desire of the supporters of the "Institute" to steer clear of practical proposals in the direction of International Arbitration.

A constitution was adopted, and papers were read on copyrights and patents, bills of exchange, and other instruments of commerce. Mr. Miles was appointed secretary, and the proceedings of the conference were wound up with a dinner and a well-attended public meeting in the Salle de la Réformation. The business at Geneva being concluded, the travellers proceeded to Lausanne, visiting the noteworthy sights in the neighbourhood, and went on to Villeneuve and Aigle, staying several days at the last-named village—a Swiss Arcadia. While in this quiet retreat Mr. Richard worked at the correspondence of Mr. Cobden for future use. He had been, as already stated, requested by the widow of the illustrious Free Trade leader to write a memoir of his friend, and in his diary he speaks of the great interest of these letters, adding:—"If I am not mistaken their publication will produce a sensation, and I would fain hope help to bring about a Liberal revival. They cannot fail to raise Mr. Cobden's reputation both for ability and high moral qualities." This prediction was signally fulfilled. The continuous pressure of public engagements prevented Mr. Richard from carrying out his scheme, and eventually the task was entrusted to Mr. John Morley, who in due time brought out, in two volumes, a charming biography of Mr. Cobden, which met with remarkable acceptance.* The following is an extract from the Preface:—"Much of the correspondence had been already sifted and arranged by Mr. Henry

* "The Life of Richard Cobden." By John Morley. London: Chapman and Hall, 1881.

Richard, the respected member for Merthyr, who handed over to me the result of his labour with a courtesy and good-will for which I am particularly indebted to him." And subsequently, in forwarding a presentation copy, Mr. Morley, after again referring to Mr. Richard's "friendly behaviour," adds:—"I must certainly pray for the indulgent judgment of one who knew Cobden and his work as you did." *

The tourists, on reluctantly leaving their charming retreat at Aigle, visited Berne, Interlachen, and Lucerne, saw the sun rise on the Righi, and witnessed many a gorgeous sunset before they left Switzerland on their homeward journey.

After his return to England, Mr. Richard soon found himself plunged into public engagements. He attended the autumnal session of the Congregational Union at Huddersfield, and addressed an evening meeting on "Religion and Politics;" his chief point being that spiritual prosperity among Nonconformists was coincident with an active discharge of their duties as citizens. During the last forty years, when there had been remarkable political activity, they had, he said, built more chapels, formed more churches, founded more schools, established more missions, and engaged more in enterprises of benevolence and religion than ever before. Shortly after, at a remarkably influential and

* Amongst the letters of Mr. Cobden entrusted to Mr. Richard were several that had been addressed to Mr. Gladstone, who subsequently, writing to the intended biographer, shows great anxiety for their due preservation, adding, "I value them greatly, and wish my children to possess them."

enthusiastic Conference of the Liberation Society, held at Manchester, he alluded to some absurd reports that there had sprung up a kind of jealousy between himself and Mr. Miall, and that they rarely appeared on the same platform, to which he replied: "If those gentlemen who make these unworthy insinuations only knew on what terms of affectionate brotherhood Mr. Miall and I have lived for many years, without a cloud in our friendship, or a jar of jealousy—I always ready and willing to act as his humble lieutenant, and recognising him as our captain—they would not any more repeat these absurdities."

Mr. Richard was present, not for the first time, at the Colston Celebration at Bristol in November, and he spoke at the dinner of the Anchor (Liberal) Society along with Lord Ducie, Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., and other public men. He attributed the recent "Liberal discomfiture" to the disposition of the late Government "to go down to Egypt"—that is, to carry measures by the aid of opponents against their own friends. But he was not disposed to despond. When the first reformed Parliament had carried a series of meritorious measures, the Whigs were defeated by a large majority, and Sir Robert Peel came into power. Their followers were dismayed, and Sydney Smith, himself a Liberal, in an ironical letter to Lady Grey, said that he was greatly distressed, and had begun to doubt whether the laws of nature would continue to operate. So he went into his garden, and sowed some mustard and cress. He had a few days of breathless anxiety, but the seed came up

much as usual, and he was pacified. At present there was perfect anarchy on the front Opposition Bench, people scrambling for the leadership whom nobody was willing to follow. In his opinion there was, he said, amid reiterated applause, no possible leader but Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Bright, in consequence of his health, being out of the question—not only because of his surpassing eminence as a statesman and an orator, but because he was a man to be trusted, and because of the religious earnestness of his nature. Mr. Gladstone was indeed a High Churchman, but Mr. Richard thought it preposterous to refuse to accept him as a political leader because he preferred a richer ritual than that which satisfied himself. Although the great Whig families were of course—if one might speak and live—the *crême de la crême* of creation, he ventured to think they were effete as leaders, and that the chief reforms of recent years had been pushed forward and carried by the Radical section, who had found a faithful leader in Mr. Gladstone. He did not want to divide the Liberal party, but when some settled down in the Slough of Despond, and others wanted to press onward to the Delectable Mountains, he said let them all march together and accommodate their paces to each other, but on their banner should be inscribed the traditional words, "Forward! forward!" It will be seen from this brief summary of Mr. Richard's much-noticed speech that the perplexity among the Liberals as to their leadership was still rife. It was solved by events; when Mr. Gladstone came forward to denounce with

so much resistless vehemence the Bulgarian atrocities, no one disputed his claim to lead the party.

Before the close of 1874, the Secretary of the Peace Society had the satisfaction of hearing that the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament at the Hague had, on the motion of M. von Eck and M. Bredius, accepted a resolution in favour of International Arbitration by 35 to 30 votes. A similar resolution had previously been carried in the Swedish Diet at Stockholm, and in both branches of Congress in the United States.*

In 1874 Mr. Richard had to deplore the loss of two of his most valuable coadjutors in the cause of peace. One of these was M. Visschers, of Brussels, who had worked with untiring energy in organising the Congress

* The resolution first adopted by the American House of Representatives, June 17, 1874, and afterwards approved by the Senate, was to this effect :—"Whereas war is at all times destructive of the material interests of a people, demoralising in its tendencies, and at variance with an enlightened public sentiment, and whereas differences between nations should, in the interests of humanity and fraternity, be adjusted, if possible, by international arbitration; therefore resolved, That the people of the United States, being devoted to the policy of peace with all mankind, enjoying its blessings, and hoping for its permanence and universal adoption, hereby, through their representatives in Congress, recommend such arbitration as a national substitute for war; and they further recommend to the treaty-making power of the Government, to provide, if practicable, hereafter in treaties made between the United States and Foreign Powers, that war shall not be declared by either of the contracting parties against the other, until efforts shall have been made to adjust all alleged causes of differences by impartial arbitration." Besides this the House also adopted the following resolution :—"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the President of the United States is hereby authorised and requested to negotiate with all civilised Powers who may be willing to enter into such negotiation for the establishment of an international system whereby matters in dispute between different Governments agreeing thereto may be adjusted by arbitration, and, if possible, without recourse to war."

of 1848 in that city, and those subsequently held at Paris and Frankfort, and who afterwards took an active part in the conferences on International Law. The other was Senator Sumner, a tower of strength to the Peace movement, as well as to the anti-slavery cause, in the United States, and, in many respects, one of the noblest men that the Great Republic has ever produced. "A more pure and lofty spirit," says Mr. Richard, "never mingled in the strife of politics." His friend does not justify, and was unable adequately to explain, Mr. Charles Sumner's opposition to the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, and his preposterous demand for "consequential damages," which almost wrecked the Alabama Arbitration, though Mr. Sumner maintained to the last that, even in this case, he acted in the interests of peace.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPUTIES, DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT, AND VISIT TO THE HAGUE.

As time went on Mr. Richard found his public engagements increase to an inconvenient extent. Probably there was no such demand at that time made upon the platform services of any Nonconformist layman, with the exception of Mr. Samuel Morley. But to "scorn delights and live laborious days" was with him more a habit than a sacrifice. His first public appearance in 1875 was at the opening of the Congregational Memorial Hall and Library in Farringdon Street; the erection of which edifice was the most substantial result of the Bicentenary Commemoration of 1862. In connection with it a fund amounting to a quarter of a million was subscribed by Congregationalists in memory of "the ejectment of two thousand clergymen from their homes and livings as ministers of Christ in the Church of England, under the stringent, inhuman, and unjust provisions of the Act of Uniformity." The ceremony took place on the 19th of January, Mr. John Remington Mills presiding, and was attended by the leading ministers and laymen of the denomination, including Mr. S. Morley, M.P., Mr. James Spicer, Mr. G. F. White

(the Treasurer), Sir Charles Reed, Mr. Henry Wright, Mr. Edward Baines, Drs. Stoughton, Allon, Mullens, Parker, Hannay, Newth, and the Revs. J. G. Rogers and J. C. Harrison.*

The dedication service was followed in the evening by a public meeting, Mr. Henry Lee, of Manchester, in the chair, at which the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown spoke on "The Heroic Age of Nonconformity," and the Rev. J. G. Rogers on "The Spiritual Works of Nonconformity." Mr. Richard followed with an address on "The Contention of Modern Nonconformity for Religious Equality," in which he frankly admitted that their forefathers, with a few rare exceptions, did not accept the principle of religious equality—the exceptions being the early Baptists, who, to their great honour, held just views as to the province of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. The history of all Dissent went to show that, in the first instance, the dissentients did not secede from any objection to the Establishment theory, but because of some particular grievance or wrong. This was the case with the Calvinistic Methodists of

* The Memorial Hall was intended to be a centre for all the religious societies connected with the denomination. Its total cost was about £30,000, towards which Mr. Mills contributed £12,000; Mr. S. Morley, £5,000; Mr. John Crossley, £5,000; Sir Titus Salt, Bart., £5,000; several other gentlemen, £1,000 each; and the Congregational Union, £3,000. When the opening took place there was still a debt of £10,000, the greater part of which was cleared off in the next few days. The Library is hung with portraits of leading Independent ministers from the days of the Commonwealth to the present time, and the large hall at the top of the building is used for public meetings. Within the last year or two some adjoining premises have been purchased at great cost, and the building has been considerably enlarged.

Wales, the Wesleyan Methodists of England, and the Free Church of Scotland. But in respect to the latter two Churches, the conviction was gradually dawning upon them that the evils of which they complained were not accidents, but of the very essence of the system of Established Churches. The subsequent speakers included the Rev. Dr. Moffat and Mr. Henry Wright of Kensington. There was an overflowing attendance of ladies and gentlemen at the conversazione on the following evening in the same building, Mr. Morley in the chair. The Rev. Samuel Minton and other clergymen and laymen of the Church of England were also present. After a catholic-minded address from Dr. Allon on "The Relation of Congregationalists with other Churches," a resolution welcoming the presence of the distinguished representatives of other Evangelical denominations, and urging co-operation in Christian work, was moved by the Rev. Alexander Thomson, Chairman of the Congregational Union, seconded by Sir Charles Reed, and responded to by the Rev. Dr. Angus (Baptist), the Rev. Dr. Fraser (Presbyterian), and the Rev. Morley Punshon (President of the Wesleyan Conference).

Within a little more than a week of the opening of the Memorial Hall, Mr. Richard was called upon to fill a position which indicated the high estimation in which he was held by London Nonconformists. In the preceding year, Sir Charles Reed, having been elected Chairman of the London School Board, found it necessary to resign the post of Chairman of the Deputies of the

Three Denominations.* For some time there was considerable difficulty in finding a suitable successor. At length Mr. Richard was induced to accept the onerous office, and on the 29th of January, at the annual meeting of the Deputies, he was unanimously appointed Chairman for the next three years, having previously been appointed a Deputy in order to make him eligible. Mr. Richard's opening speech was worthy of the occasion, and of his own reputation. He presented an interesting historical retrospect of the action of the Deputies, whose successes were the result solely of their sleepless vigilance, and not of confiding trust in political

* This valuable organisation dates as far back as the beginning of the eighteenth century, and consisted of representatives of London Dissenters of the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist persuasions, appointed to protect their civil rights. The Deputies have taken a prominent part in many ecclesiastical crises since that time. They presented a loyal address to George I. on his accession to the throne, to which His Majesty made a gracious reply. As early as 1738—three years after they were constituted—they endeavoured to induce Sir Robert Walpole to take in hand the repeal of the Tests and Corporation Acts, but that statesman refused. This particular question was once and again pressed upon the attention of the Legislature by the Deputies—Mr. Fox, towards the close of the last century, making one of his most magnificent speeches in its favour—but it was not till 1828 that Lord John Russell's Bill for the repeal of the Acts received the Royal Assent. This was not, however, the only fruitful work undertaken by the Deputies. After the first unsuccessful attempt to secure the repeal of the Tests and Corporation Acts, they were occupied, says Mr. Skeats in his "History of the Free Churches in England," in defending, often at a great pecuniary expenditure, the civil and ecclesiastical rights of Dissenters throughout the kingdom. Very much of the work that was done by the Committee of Deputies a century ago has to be done, to a large extent, by their successors in these days of Reformed Parliaments, and the necessity for their vigilance is almost as great; and it is only just to say that such service is zealously given by the present Secretary, Mr. Alfred Shepheard, as it was by his honoured father till incapacitated by advancing years. The Deputies number more than 250 members.

parties, and he strongly deprecated a cringing attitude at the present time, Nonconformists having now won the right to stand erect and to hold their own. They had shown their loyalty to the Liberal party, and, while openly and honestly avowing their differences with Mr. Gladstone when necessary, they did not plot and intrigue to cast him down from his eminence, and trusted that he would yet achieve further triumphs in the cause of justice, freedom, and Liberal progress. He also referred with much effect to the great speech which he had heard from Mr. Bright a few days before at Bingley Hall, Birmingham, in the presence of some 14,000 persons, in which the right honourable gentleman indicated that the Disestablishment question was coming to the front, and recommended politicians to prepare for a wise and prudent solution of that great problem.

That the choice of the Deputies was eminently wise will be apparent from the testimony of Mr. Alfred J. Shepheard, the present Secretary, who has been kind enough to furnish the following interesting statement:—

"Mr. Richard proved to be in every respect a most capable Chairman, and devoted himself with unfailing energy and characteristic devotion to the discharge of his duties. It will easily be seen that the Chairman of a body like the Deputies can look upon his duties in two ways—on the one hand, using his influence, both in Parliament and elsewhere, to advance generally the cause which the Deputies have at heart, and presiding at the annual meetings, he may say that he has done all that can fairly be expected of him. He may, on the other hand, while discharging his public duties, devote himself to the details of the Committee and other work of the body. Mr. Richard adopted this latter course. He ably and unfailingly dis-

charged the public duty of representing the opinions of the Deputies in the House of Commons and in public generally, but he was also a most regular attendant, not only at the annual gatherings of the Deputies, but at the ordinary meetings of the Committee. At these Committee meetings, and on all other occasions when his advice and counsel were sought, they were most willingly placed at the disposal of the Deputies.

"Mr. Richard presided at *every* annual meeting which was held during his Chairmanship. Not only so, but he never failed to deliver a Presidential address of power and appropriateness. So successful was his service in this respect that his speech was always looked forward to by the Deputies as the special feature of the meeting, and in a short time it came to be regarded by them, and also by outsiders, as an annual manifesto on the part of Nonconformists. The reason for this was, not only that he spoke as Chairman of a body representing the lay Nonconformity of the Metropolis, but because Mr. Richard had, by his general ability and constant attention to matters affecting Nonconformists, raised himself into the position of a recognised leader in the House of Commons. His speeches at the annual meetings, therefore, bearing as they did upon the pressing questions of the day, were always reported by the public prints either *in extenso* or at considerable length, and had much educational value.

"As Secretary of the Deputies, I have had a good opportunity of judging of the amount of time which Mr. Richard gave to the discharge of the duties which in Parliament and elsewhere devolved upon him. I can safely say that he spared himself in no way, nor was any work too trivial, if by undertaking it he could advance the objects which Nonconformists were for the time advocating. To the end of his life this was so, and his devotion was never more apparent than at the close, when, at great inconvenience, and at the expense of much suffering—if not at the actual risk of life—he undertook, and fully attended to, the arduous duties of a member of the Royal Commission on Education.

"The general record of Mr. Richard's life will of course show the public matters to which he mainly directed his energies, but I may mention that, in connection with the Deputies, he was to be found supporting and speaking in advocacy of the Disestablishment

of the Churches of Ireland and Great Britain; the right to conduct Nonconformist services at Burials, whether in churchyards or cemeteries; National and Unsectarian Education; Equality for Nonconformists at the National Universities, and other similar public questions. He was frequently—almost continuously—engaged in less public matters, such as protecting the rights of localities from unfair invasion of Churchmen; in endeavours to secure for Nonconformists a proper share of representation on the Charity Commission and other like bodies; freeing Holloway College, Christ's Hospital, and other like institutions from predominant Church influence; securing the extension of hours during which marriages may legally take place, and in the advocacy of a better scheme for the celebration of marriages generally. He was also to be found watching the almost innumerable Bills relating to ecclesiastical matters introduced into the House of Commons (in many of which clauses are constantly inserted prejudicially affecting Nonconformists); attending and leading deputations to Ministers of State, or public bodies or authorities, with a view to preventing the perpetuation of abuses or securing the removal of grievances; presiding at central and local gatherings and conferences; and generally in all the divers, though often tedious, ways in which a public man who conscientiously performs his duties can serve the public, no one was more earnest than Mr. Richard.

"One other point—Mr. Richard's personal character. That he was firm in his opinions, outspoken when occasion demanded—strong in the assertion of principles even though in a minority—no one who met him or watched his career would for one moment hesitate to affirm, but to opponents as well as friends he was eminently courteous, and always fair and considerate. For myself I can simply testify that in all respects I found him a kind and genial friend, as well as a trusted leader."

In his last address but one at the annual meeting of the Deputies in 1887 (the Jubilee year) Mr. Richard took occasion to describe the progress that had been made in religious freedom since the accession of Queen Victoria. His retrospect was very striking and informing, and the report of his speech might have

been usefully copied into these pages, if space had allowed.

The year 1875 was not particularly noteworthy in or out of Parliament. There were many signs that the great prosperity of the country was on the wane, and was beginning to tell on the national finances. The Prince of Wales made his State visit to India, Mr. Disraeli's Government bought the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and once again the Eastern question began to assume a menacing aspect. In the House of Commons the Irish Nationalists assumed an attitude of troublesome independence under Mr. Parnell, now their acknowledged leader, and the discussions on the Merchant Shipping Bill led to the celebrated Plimsoll defiance, which had the effect of compelling the Government to do something for the protection of our sailors. Otherwise there was a lull in legislation and in political conflicts. The altered relations of parties did not prevent Mr. Osborne Morgan from introducing his Burials Bill, which was debated at great length. He was supported by Mr. Richard, but the discussion was most remarkable for a touching appeal from Mr. Roebuck to the opponents of the Bill, and a pathetic speech from Mr. Bright, which produced a profound impression. The Bill was thrown out by a majority of only fourteen votes (248 to 234), the smallest since Mr. Disraeli had assumed the reins of government, seven Conservatives voting with the minority. About a month later, when Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, introduced the St. Albans Bishopric Bill, Mr. Richard moved its rejection

in an elaborate speech; the main grounds of his objection being that the whole population of the country were theoretically members of the Church of England, that the new bishop would be a State official, and would have the right to sit in rotation in the House of Lords, and that there was universal dissatisfaction with the present Bench of Bishops, as to which he read a number of amusing extracts from the Church papers. Mr. Richard did not meet with much support either in the debate or in the division. Sixty-one members went into the lobby with him, including Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, but only one Welsh Liberal, Mr. Richard Davies.

As soon as Parliament rose, Mr. Richard, accompanied by Mrs. Richard, hastened to the Hague, where the two Juridical Associations held their annual session. This was the third continental journey made for a like purpose. On arriving at the Dutch capital on the 31st of August the travellers found that the Institute of International Law had already concluded its session; and when M. Bredius presented himself to give them a welcome, Mr. Richard was informed that the Queen of the Netherlands had appointed that day to receive the members of the two Associations at her residence. The diarist gives an account of the interview with Her Majesty at the House in the Wood, which quite corresponds with the name. It is a pretty little palace with some fine reception rooms. As the Queen was announced the visitors ranged themselves in a semicircle, the members of the Institute being introduced

by Professor Asser, of Amsterdam, and those of the Association by M. Bredius. The Queen received them most graciously, addressing a few words to each with great readiness and tact, and with perfect facility speaking to every one in his language, whether it was English, French, German, or Italian. After the presentations were over they all went into the charming gardens, where there was a fine band of music, and abundant refreshments were served. The diary goes on:—

Sir Travers Twiss, who had been talking some time with the Queen, after a word with me, asked permission to specially present to Her Majesty Mr. Richard, "the author of the celebrated motion on arbitration in the British Parliament. "I am happy, Mr. Richard," she said, "to make your acquaintance; your name is well known to me, as it is over the world." I humbly bowed my acknowledgments for that pretty speech. "I believe your Majesty often visits England?" "Yes," she said, "I am very partial to England. I was there this year about two months ago." "I had the honour of seeing your Majesty one evening in the House of Lords." "Oh, yes, I was there one evening, but it was not very interesting; they were merely receiving some Bills that had come from the House of Commons." "Does your Majesty ever visit the House of Commons?" "Oh, yes, I often go there, and I find it much more interesting than the House of Lords," with a slight laugh. I then ventured to add that we felt very grateful to Her Majesty for the interest she had shown, and the encouragement she had given, by this gracious reception, to our humble efforts to establish peace between the nations. And so we chatted on.

Next day the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations held its session, M. Bredius giving the members a cordial welcome, and Mr. Dudley Field, as President, making an opening

speech on the present state of International Law. The various subjects discussed included Collisions at Sea—on which the report of a Committee was presented—International Arbitration, International Disarmament, the Principles of Non-intervention, Foreign Exchanges, &c. The second of these topics was dealt with by Mr. Richard, who urged that if they could give consistency and unity to the law of nations, there would be more hope of establishing a great tribunal to adjudicate between civilised nations, just as the Supreme Court of the American Confederation adjudicates between the different States of the Union, as well as between the Federal and the State Governments. In the discussion which followed, Serjeant Simon, M.P., while expressing strong sympathy with the object, said he could not see how the judgments of such a tribunal as had been advocated could be final, not being like a court of law behind which were the police and prisons. But arbitration would become popular, though perhaps slowly.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHAIRMAN OF CONGREGATIONAL UNION—TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

Mr. Disraeli had not been long in office before he showed that, to use his own expression, he was "sick of the silver streak." From the beginning of 1876 he strove to carry out a high-handed Imperial policy, not without some encouragement from his Sovereign, who, gratified, it may be, at his success in carrying through the Royal Titles Bill, created him Earl of Beaconsfield, and conferred upon him the distinction of visiting his country seat, Hughenden Manor. Before referring further to the foreign questions which month after month agitated the country, "harassed" trade, and to a great extent gave active employment to Mr. Richard's voice and pen, it may be desirable to advert to incidents more closely related to his position as a Nonconformist leader and Congregationalist, as well as Secretary of the Peace Society.

In 1876, the Prime Minister, with a fatuity truly marvellous, when it is borne in mind that his cardinal object was to dazzle the country with his spirited foreign policy, once more played into the hands of the Church clergy. In May, the Vice-President of the Council, who had a year before failed in his efforts

to carry a reactionary Endowed Schools Bill, brought in a measure to amend the Primary Education Acts. The general drift of Lord Sandon's Bill was to give every facility for strengthening and extending denominational schools—of which there were 12,000 outside the boroughs—by enabling the Guardians of the poor to pay the weekly fee of indigent children; providing a grant to a poor school to the extent of twice its income, and authorising the local authority to compel all children to attend schools, including those on a denominational basis, the cost of the machinery to be defrayed out of the rates. The Bill excited much indignation amongst Nonconformists, and all their leading representative bodies protested against it, while a special conference in London, jointly convened by the Liberation Society and the Dissenting Deputies, passed a series of resolutions strongly objecting to the devolving of educational duties on public bodies appointed for other than educational purposes, to the association of education with crime and pauperism, and, by still further subsidising sectarian schools, managed by irresponsible persons, checking the formation of School Boards, and the multiplication of schools under public management. It was further contended "that a resort to compulsion should be combined with a regard for individual rights, as well as for the public interests;" but that, in contravention of the principles adopted in recent legislation, the Bill would, in a large number of rural parishes, particularly in the rural districts, have the effect of compelling the Nonconformist parents to send their

children to schools belonging to the Church of England. The exercise of this power would also be rendered more dangerous by the delegation of their authority by the Town Councils and Boards of Guardians to other and irresponsible persons, by whom, in many cases, it would be used for the furtherance of sectarian objects."

When the Bill came on for second reading on the 13th of June, Mr. Mundella moved, as an amendment—

"That no Bill for confirming the elementary education of the people would be satisfactory unless it embodied the recommendation of the Factory and Workshop Acts Commissioners relating to the compulsory attendance of children at schools."

The debate was resumed on the 19th, when Mr. Dixon and Mr. Richard opposed the Bill as objectionable to Nonconformists. The amendment was rejected by 309 to 160 votes, and the second reading carried by 356 to 78. On going into committee on the 10th of July, Mr. Richard moved as an amendment—

"That in the opinion of the House, the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied without great injustice, unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management."

This was supported in an elaborate speech, in which the hon. member showed how extensively the denominational schools were used by the clergy for proselytising purposes. He was not himself greatly enamoured of universal compulsion,* for he had

* Before moving the amendment Mr. Richard had stated in a letter to Dr. Dale his difficulties on this point, and his hesitation in leading the opposition to the Bill, which seems to have been overcome.

found in his recent visits to the Continent that in some countries, such as Holland, the national schools were filled by the agency of voluntary committees, but if they were determined to have compulsion, it was essential that the consciences of those children who were obliged to attend denominational schools should be protected. Most of these were not, he said, voluntary schools in the proper sense of the term; for while the Church of England from 1859 to 1875 absorbed more than ten millions of public money for school purposes, the voluntary contributions only averaged £600,000 a year, and many of these schools were carried on without any voluntary contributions at all.

The amendment was well supported by Mr. A. McArthur, Mr. S. Morley, and Mr. Waddy, and was rejected by 317 to 99 votes; Mr. Mundella, and several other ex-ministers being in the minority. When the Bill was read a third time, Mr. Richard uttered a final protest against its provisions, which, he contended, strengthened, extended, and intensified the denominational system. They had been gravely told by Conservative members in that House that secular education would produce only skilful or clever infidels. But hon. members seemed to have forgotten that that was the educational system approved by two of their great leaders. Lord Derby, in 1832, founded the Irish system, which was based on the principle of "united secular and separate religious education," as described by its administrators, and Sir Robert Peel's Queen's Colleges were unsectarian. He refused to

accept that Bill as a settlement of the Education question, and believed that was the opinion of the whole Liberal party.

In a third case, the Government offered a gratuitous insult to Nonconformists in order to oblige the "Forty Parson Power" behind them, to use Sydney Smith's expressive phrase. As already stated, Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill was rejected by only a small majority in the session of 1876, many Conservatives declining to vote. Ministers came to the conclusion that an attempt should be made to stop, in favour of clericalism, an agitation extending over twenty years, and Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, undertook the congenial task. His measure of 1877 was, of course, reactionary, and it was ludicrous in its provisions. It offered to Nonconformists the privilege of silent burial in the parochial churchyards, such as is accorded to the unbaptised and suicides—viz., without a religious service, and invested the Local Government Board with authority to close existing burial-places either from want of space, or on sanitary grounds; the expense of new ones to be at the cost of the ratepayers, in which the old distinction of consecrated and unconsecrated ground and two mortuary chapels would be kept up. The proposal was based upon the plea that the parish churchyards were nearly full, whereas it was shown in a Parliamentary return that 10,000 were still in use, and that not more than a thousand had been closed. The Dissenting Deputies and the Liberation Society jointly convened a conference at Westminster

in April, which was attended by some thirty members of Parliament, and by gentlemen from all parts. In the absence of Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Richard presided. The objections to the Bill were clearly and exhaustively stated by Mr. Carvell Williams, and were embodied in a series of resolutions, which concluded by calling upon the Liberal party to prevent the passing of the Bill, and urging that the whole question should "hereafter be dealt with in a manner consistent with reason and equity, and more likely to effect a lasting settlement." At a later period of the session Mr. Cross had the mortification of withdrawing his ill-omened measure, which only had the effect of ranging the entire body of Nonconformists more resolutely against the Government.

At the spring meeting of the Congregational Union in 1876, Mr. Richard was chosen Chairman for the ensuing year. This is the highest distinction that can be bestowed upon a member of the denomination, and it was the first time that it had been offered to a layman; for the honourable member had long since ceased to be regarded as a minister. The duties attached to the office are not very onerous. The Chairman has to preside over the sittings of the ministers and delegates in the spring and the autumn, when it is customary for him to deliver elaborate addresses, and, during his year of office, he is always in great demand to assist at the opening of new places of worship, and at other denominational functions. From these latter claims Mr. Richard was to a large extent exempted. The

subject of the Chairman's inaugural address at the May session of the Union in 1877 was "The Relations of the Temporal and Spiritual Power in the different nations." It contained a mass of original and valuable information as to the religious condition of the chief European States—such as France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium—the result of his own personal experience, and the communications of eminent men in those countries, which were applied with great rhetorical force; and he traced the general scepticism which he had found to be largely prevalent on the Continent to the sinister alliance between Church and State, which has so utterly mispresented the whole spirit and tendency of Christianity as to alienate from it a large proportion of the best elements of European society. "Despotism and priestcraft," he said, "have always been faithful allies, leagued in an eternal conspiracy against the rights and liberties of mankind. Yes, we have a right to say to popes, and cardinals, and prelates, and other representatives of official religion all over the world, 'The name of God is blasphemed among the nations through you.'" At the autumnal meeting of the Union, held at Leicester, Mr. Richard's subject was, "The application of Christianity to Politics," and his address was pervaded with an earnest, healthy, sanguine tone, which won the cordial approval of his auditors. He traced many of the evils of society to the fact that the teachings of Christ had nowhere been fully applied to politics, and said he had no hope for the future of this world that was not connected with Christianity.

The following extract will indicate the scope of his address:—

"I don't believe that Christianity is dead or dying. Some of the ancient dogmas in which former generations of Christians embodied their conceptions of Christian truth may be dying, and perhaps it is time they should be, and be buried out of sight. But whatever truth they contained will survive, and become incarnate in other forms more adapted to the needs of the age. Christianity itself, as a permeating and formative power, as a factor in the world's affairs, is not only alive, but, in my opinion, more living and powerful than it ever was before. I do not refer merely to its ecclesiastical developments —to the hundreds of thousands of Christian organisations that exist in this land, and in all the lands of Christendom, each of them the centre of a considerable moral and spiritual influence on surrounding society, and all of them working an enormous and complicated machinery of beneficence and charity. I do not refer merely to its power over personal character and life, though there are millions of men and women who are the very salt of the earth, whose whole higher existence is nourished by its doctrines, who live, and labour, and suffer, and die, guided by its light and sustained by its inspiration. But I ask you to look upon its action upon society, and to consider how much it is doing to elevate, to refine, to humanise our race. Think of the innumerable institutions of benevolence and charity scattered over the face of this and other Christian countries —for the poor, for the orphan, for the sick, for the ignorant, for the blind, for the crippled, for the idiot, for the insane, for the fallen, for the criminal, for every conceivable form of human sin and suffering, which are fed by the sympathy and compassion that Christianity begets, and tell me if all this can be accomplished by a dead or dying religion."

Towards the end of September, 1876, Mr. and Mrs. Richard visited Bremen—formerly a member of the Hanseatic League, now one of the principal ports and the Government dockyard of North Germany—to attend the fourth annual conference of the Society for the

Reform and Codification of International Law. The attendance at the conference was less than usual, in consequence of the simultaneous appearance in Bremen of the German Society of Political Economists, and the absence of Americans, who were detained at home by the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia and the Presidential election. Another difficulty was the loss of Dr. Miles, their Secretary, who was taken ill and died soon after their last meeting, and who was a very efficient organiser. M. Jencken was appointed to succeed him. Lord O'Hagan, the President, being unable to attend, his place was occupied by Sir Travers Twiss. The principal subjects discussed at the three days' session were Bills of Exchange, on which a report was presented; Patent Laws; the Principles that should regulate the Intercourse of Christian and non-Christian nations, in which much was said as to the treatment of native races by civilised peoples; the Exemption of Private Property at sea from capture, introduced by Professor Sheldon Amos; and Extradition. At the close, the President expressed his belief that some progress had been made in dealing with the question of practical international law, and that the foundation had been laid of a useful scheme for assimilating the laws of different countries in respect to bills of exchange and international currency. The members of the Congress received much attention and hospitality from the Burgomaster and the other authorities of Bremen, and there was, as Mr. Richard says, much eating and drinking. A dinner in the hall of the Künstler-Verein, at which some four hundred

were present, lasted three hours and a half, owing to the custom of alternating each course with speeches. On this occasion wine presented by the Senate was served, which had lain in the famous Rathhaus cellar since the year 1620, and bore a strong resemblance to a less noble beverage. There was a special excursion to Wilhelmshaven, where the vessels of war were inspected, Mr. Richard not being of the party. Before returning home he visited Hamburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Spa, a town of hotels and lodging-houses, once celebrated for its gaming-tables, which are now abolished.

"The eternal Eastern Question is before us," said Lord Derby, at the close of 1875, "and I have no idea that another year will see it finally and permanently settled." His lordship could not foresee what was to take place, nor was he able, though Foreign Secretary, altogether to control the course of events. At that time the relations of Turkey to her Christian provinces were in the diplomatic crucible. The situation was not unlike that which preceded the Crimean War. Now as then the British Cabinet was divided, but Mr. Disraeli failed to see that the people of England were in a different mind, and dead against intervention. Early in 1876 the Andrassy Note, formulated by Austria, Germany, and Russia, was sent to Constantinople, condemning the misgovernment of the insurgent provinces and the broken promises of the Porte, and demanding certain reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina to prevent a revolt. Lord Derby gave it a lukewarm support. The Porte promised, but, as usual, did

not perform. Then came the Berlin Memorandum, which threatened Turkey "with more effective measures," and gave her two months to comply with the demand of the Powers. Our Foreign Minister resisted all attempts to persuade him to sign the Memorandum, which was eventually dropped. The Porte was of course jubilant at the rupture of the European Concert, and became more resolute to refuse concessions. Great uneasiness was felt throughout England, for trade and industry were much disturbed, the proclivities of Mr. Disraeli—not yet a Peer—were dreaded, and the British fleet had been sent to Besika Bay, ostensibly because of the grave condition of Constantinople following upon the deposition of the late Sultan, there being a great development of Moslem fanaticism, while the horrible massacres in Bulgaria had, to a large extent, become known. Before the rising of Parliament on July 14, a formidable deputation, 250 strong, headed by Mr. Bright—Mr. Richard was, of course, one—waited upon Lord Derby to present a memorial numerously signed by members of Parliament, magistrates, and representatives of various associations in the metropolis and chief towns of the Kingdom, in favour of the non-intervention of this country in the Eastern Question. The reply of the Foreign Minister was eminently satisfactory. He thought it most improbable that in consequence of anything now passing within the limits of the Turkish Empire a general European war would ensue. Austria would not proceed to extremities, the Emperor of Russia was a sincere lover of peace, and both in favour of rigid

non-intervention while the present struggle lasted, and if anything was to be done, ready to act in concert with all the Powers, which concert was the surest guarantee of peace. These assurances had a tranquillising effect upon the country, though they did not prevent some of the daily papers persisting in their crusade against Russia. A few days later, after the Government had affected to treat the reports from Bulgaria with jaunty indifference, or as mere "coffee-house babble," the *Daily News* published the fullest details of the horrible Turkish atrocities upon the Christian population of Philippopolis and Batak, which sent a thrill of horror throughout England. This was increased to intensity by Mr. Gladstone's fervid pamphlet on the subject. These revelations, said Mr. Richard, "must have torn from every heart the last fibre of mistaken partiality for the Moslem race and rule," though, as he prophetically added, there was still much danger to be feared from suspicion and jealousy of Russia.* What gave a sting to the popular indignation was the belief at Constantinople, not in any way discouraged by our representatives there, that the presence of a British fleet at Besika Bay, and the attitude of our Prime Minister, afforded a moral support to the Turks in their inhuman policy, and that England would never permit the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

* On the 20th of September Lord Beaconsfield made a speech in which he declared that those who had been getting up the public meetings were guilty of outrages on "the principle of patriotism, worse than any of those Bulgarian atrocities of which we have heard so much." Many of these meetings were organised by the Peace Society.

It is not necessary here to describe the events of the next few weeks, which obliged the Porte to yield to external pressure. Lord Derby sent the Marquis of Salisbury to Constantinople,* and at the Preliminary Conference of the Powers it was decided to give, as Mr. Gladstone had suggested, administrative autonomy to the European provinces of Turkey, and send a small body of troops of some minor state—such as Belgium—to support the International Commission for reorganising Bulgaria. These demands were refused by the Porte, which evidently relied upon the eventual support of England, the Conference came to an end, and the ambassadors of the Powers were recalled from Constantinople.

Before diplomacy had said its last word at the Turkish capital, the great Anti-Turkish Conference was held at St. James's Hall, perhaps the most influential demonstration of public opinion ever witnessed in this country. For not only were there more than a hundred towns, including all the chief industrial centres, represented, but also the Houses of Lords and Commons, the leaders in literature, science, and art, the universities,

* Mr. Richard, writing before the Conference came to an end, says "Lord Salisbury, by his demeanour at Constantinople, has dispelled the clouds that seem to threaten from that part of the horizon, by adopting a course which is the precise antithesis in every respect of that adopted by the organ of his party at home. He has stedfastly refused to be hoodwinked by the Porte, and no less stedfastly refused to treat Russia with suspicion and defiance. Instead of receiving information as to Russian designs and demands through the distorting medium of Turkish officialism, as Lord Stratford did in 1854, he has entered frankly into communication with the Russian ambassador. The result has been a clear mutual understanding on all essential points."

the bar, the heads of public schools, ministers of religion, and the artisan classes. The resolutions and speeches were quite equal to the occasion. When Mr. Richard asked the meeting to declare that not one penny of British money, not one drop of British blood should be expended in upholding that organised barbarism called the Ottoman Empire, the members of the Conference leaped to their feet and cheered loud and long in approval of the sentiment. In like manner any generous reference to Russia, any demand for cordial co-operation with her on the Eastern Question, any denunciation of the scandalous manner in which the Prime Minister had flung defiance and challenge in the face of the Emperor Alexander in return for his most conciliatory message to the people of England, were caught up by the Conference and responded to with cordial and unanimous bursts of applause. In his great speech at the close of the proceedings, Mr. Gladstone strongly deprecated inflamed jealousy of Russia, and condemned the thought of going to war on behalf of the present system of government in Turkey. It was evident that the Conference was eminently favourable to peace.

The Porte having refused to accept the collective advice of the Powers, Russia declared war, and early in October, 1877, the Turks had to succumb in Asia Minor, and the fall of Plevna in December induced our Government to summon Parliament for January 13th, 1878, which was thought to imply that supplies would be demanded to carry on a war with Russia. The country was panic-stricken, and securities were rapidly depreciated.

But while great meetings were held throughout the country to protest against any violation of neutrality, bands of young men marched about London singing the chorus of the notorious Jingo song, then popular at the music-halls. It soon became known that Austria had been squared by the consent of Russia to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, though the supporters of Lord Beaconsfield were urging the occupation of Gallipoli.

When Parliament met the Queen's Speech was, to the general astonishment and the chagrin of the war party, found to be pacific, though there was a hint that "measures of precaution" might be necessary. Everybody not in the secret was amazed, and it was not known till afterwards that a proposal, made by the Prime Minister at a Cabinet meeting in Lord Derby's absence to send a fleet to the Dardanelles, precipitated the resignation of Lord Carnarvon, who only withdrew it on the assurance that the order was cancelled. In fact Russia and England had made an arrangement to prevent any collision on the defensive lines outside of Constantinople—a compromise which sorely disappointed the Jingoists, whose Russophobia, stimulated by some of the daily papers, had become a positive mania. But the Government got their vote of credit for six millions,*

* Mr. Richard made an elaborate speech against the granting of the vote, deriding the proposal, which was like going into a Peace Conference with a loaded pistol. He condemned the war party in England, which approved of a policy of menace that had always ended either in war or in failure and humiliation. But he objected to spend six millions on hypothetical armaments, at a time when ironworks and collieries were stopping

and of course began to spend it, though, knowing the conditions laid down by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano, they were aware that the Czar had no intention to occupy the Turkish capital. Austria proposed a Congress to consider that Treaty. Russia recognised the competence of such a representative body to examine every clause in the interests of Europe, but reserved to herself the "full liberty of appreciation and action" which the other Powers claimed—words to which Lord Beaconsfield took exception, but which were agreeable to the other European diplomatists. While this controversy was going on, the British Cabinet gave orders for the calling out of the Reserves, and the summoning to Europe of a contingent of Indian troops. Thereupon Lord Derby promptly resigned, a step which created so much consternation that the filibustering scheme of despatching of a naval expedition to Syria was abandoned. Lord Salisbury was appointed Foreign Secretary in place of Lord Derby, and on the 1st of April issued a circular to the Powers condemning *in toto* the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty, and the resolution calling out the Reserves was carried in the House of Commons, on April 9th, by 319 to 64 votes, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Richard also, voting in the minority, while the mass of the Liberal party held aloof.* Although

on all sides, and thousands of the industrial classes were being thrown out of employ.

* Mr. Richard took part in this debate, and strongly condemned the unreasoning hatred and fear of Russia. He did not contend that that Power was blameless, but he cordially accepted the declaration once made by Mr. Gladstone:—"It is not in the ordinance of Providence that one

the order to bring the Indian contingent to Malta was issued directly Parliament adjourned for the Easter recess, Ministers were intimidated by the great Peace demonstrations that took place throughout the country, and at length, adopting Lord Derby's policy of a preliminary agreement, entered into a compact with Russia as to the terms which were to be submitted to the Berlin Congress. This compromise, which was the result of the negotiations of Count Schouvaloff and Lord Salisbury, was to be kept a profound secret till the meeting of that assembly, but was divulged through the *Globe* newspaper. The excitement caused by this revelation, which was the work of a Foreign Office writer, obliged Lord Salisbury, from his place in the House of Lords, to deny that it was "authentic." In a few days, however, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury were on their way to Berlin as the British plenipotentiaries, and as soon as the Congress met, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, the full text of the secret agreement appeared in the same journal and could not be denied;

nation should correct the morals of another nation." "Why not," said the honourable member, "apply the principle of reference embodied in the Treaty of Paris to the present circumstances. I am quite sure of this, that the man, in this emergency, who will be entitled to the highest credit, who will most command the respect of the world, who will earn the warmest gratitude of mankind, and whose name will go down with honour to posterity, is not the man who indulges in the loudest, loftiest, and most threatening language, not the man who calls out the largest array of troops, or displays the most powerful fleet, but the man who has the wisdom to devise, and the force of character to give effect to, some peaceable means of settling the matter in dispute, and to save Europe from having the scourge of war once more let loose to devastate the earth, and fill the habitations of humanity with mourning, lamentation, and woe."

and after an absence of about a month, the arrangement of the Russian and English diplomatists having been ratified by the Congress, our representatives returned to London, bringing with them, as they said, "Peace with honour." The country, caring comparatively little about the terms of settlement, was delighted that there was no prospect of a war.*

* "The compromise between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff pushed back the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty from the Ægean Sea to the limit fixed by the Constantinople Conference, cutting it off from all possible contact with England, an arrangement not altogether disadvantageous to Russia. It divided Bulgaria into two provinces—one to be free, but tributary to Turkey, and the other to have an autonomous government, under a Christian Pasha, appointed by the Porte with the sanction of the Powers. This weakened Bulgaria so as to give Russia a dominant influence in both provinces, which was not shaken till 1885, when their aspirations for union were realised by a revolution, which it was Lord Salisbury's fate to sanction—perhaps, indeed, in some measure to encourage. Greek populations were excluded from the new Bulgarias, greatly to the satisfaction of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Derby. Bayazid was restored to Turkey, but Batoum and Kars were to be taken by Russia, who thus had the Asiatic frontier of Turkey at her mercy. Russia was to take Bessarabia, and Turkey to cede Kolour to Persia—obviously, to earn Persian gratitude for Russia. Subject to this compromise, Lord Beaconsfield agreed not to make a *casus belli* of any article in the Treaty of San Stefano, each one of which had been so fiercely condemned by Lord Salisbury's circular of the 1st of April." The above is a quotation from "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria" (Cassell and Co.), an admirable and succinct summary of the events that occurred during the fifty years' reign of Her Majesty. As soon as this compromise was agreed to, a Convention was negotiated with the Porte by which England promised to defend the Asiatic frontier of Turkey on condition that the Sultan would reform the administration of Asia Minor, Armenia in particular, and permit this country to hold Cyprus—paying a tribute to Turkey—as long as Russia kept Kars. This Convention was denounced by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington as an "insane covenant," and the prediction that it would remain a dead letter, because the Turks would never carry out the promised reforms, has been entirely fulfilled.

CHAPTER XX.

THE EUROPEAN CONGRESS—VISIT TO BERLIN.

At the request of the Committee of the Peace Society, Mr. Richard and Mr. Leone Levi—who were disappointed in Mr. Henry Pease, the Chairman, being unable to accompany them—went to Berlin, to try and bring the question of International Arbitration before the Congress of the Great Powers there assembled. They reached that city on the 1st of July, 1878, and were joined there by M. Frederic Passy, whose co-operation was of the greatest value to them, and were also able to consult Mr. Edmund Sturge and Mr. J. G. Alexander, who were at Berlin in connection with the anti-Slavery question. The deputation brought with them a memorial addressed to Prince Bismarck, the President of the Congress, calling attention to the special Protocol of the Treaty of Paris suggesting, in case of international differences, the good offices of a friendly Power before having recourse to arms, referring to the adoption of the Arbitration principle by several of the Parliaments of Europe, and praying the Plenipotentiaries to re-affirm in terms more express and formal the great principle proclaimed in 1856, and to introduce into the treaty or treaties about to be

concluded some clause to the following effect:—"In case of any serious misunderstanding arising as to the interpretation or execution of the present treaties, as well as on other points that might endanger their friendly relations, the Signatory Powers engage themselves, after exhausting all means of amicable negotiation, to submit the matter to arbitration. An equal number of arbitrators to be chosen on either side by the Powers concerned, while the arbitrators so chosen will have the right to appoint a third arbitrator or umpire." This memorial was signed by Henry Pease, Henry Richard, and Leone Levi, on behalf of the London Peace Society; by MM. Passy, Franck, Bellaire, Garnier, and Mazeau, for the French Society of the Friends of Peace; by Signor Mancini, late Minister of Justice and Worship for Italy; by M. Couvreur, who introduced the Arbitration resolution in the Belgian Legislature; and by M. Van Eck, the author of a similar resolution in the Dutch Parliament, and M. Belinfaute, Secretary of the Netherlands Peace League. With the memorial were enclosed resolutions passed on the subject of International Arbitration by legislative bodies in Great Britain, Italy, the United States, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, and France, also a letter to Prince Bismarck, asking him to submit the documents to the Congress, and stating that the memorial represented the wishes of a large number of persons in all parts of Europe and of the civilised world. Copies were sent to each individual Plenipotentiary with a request in some cases for a personal interview.

The first to receive the delegates was Lord Odo Russell (afterwards Lord Ampthill), our Minister at Berlin, who was associated with the other Plenipotentiaries—"a very pleasant and amiable man"—who expressed his sympathy with their object, and promised to bring it under the notice of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. Mr. Richard opportunely reminded his lordship of the flattering address which had been recently presented to his uncle (Earl Russell) for his distinguished services in connection with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Next the members of the deputation waited upon the first Plenipotentiary of Italy, and of this interview Mr. Richard gives the following account in one of his diaries:—

Friday, July 5.—Called on Count Corti at the Hotel Royal. He is a small, and in outward appearance what might be called an insignificant, but evidently a very able man. He has lived a good deal in England and America, and speaks English perfectly. He said, "I have long known your name, Mr. Richard." He was very friendly, and talked freely on the subject of our mission, without any affectation of putting on the great man. With regard to the re-affirmation of the Protocol 23 of Paris in 1856, he said that would be unnecessary, because that whatever in that Treaty is not affected, and as it were repealed, by the decisions of the present Congress, would remain in full force. But I said we want the "wish" expressed in that Protocol to be changed or developed into the more binding form of arbitration. "I am afraid," he said, "the Congress would not consent to that. It will be thought inconsistent with the independence of the Great Powers to bind themselves beforehand by such an obligation. I am sorry it should be so. I wish they would agree to do away with their standing armies, and to settle everything by arbitration. But it is not likely they will submit to that at present. I am personally greatly interested in arbitration, for I was engaged in one between your country and the United States, when

we had some 270 cases brought before us, all of which were disposed of to the satisfaction of the parties concerned."

Subsequently, Mr. Richard and his colleagues waited on Herr Bucher, Superintendent of the Archives of the Congress—"a bald-headed man, with a modest and reserved manner"—who was supposed to have some influence with Prince Bismarck. He was very courteous, and promised that the subject of their memorial should be put on the agenda of the Congress next day, but he doubted whether that diplomatic assembly would take it into consideration any more than other petitions sent to them in reference to religious liberty, free trade, slavery, &c., but he thought something might be done in the way of re-affirming the Paris Protocol. Herr Bucher went on to say :—

Any member of the Congress has the right to initiate a discussion, though naturally the greater part of the subjects are introduced by the President. We asked him, supposing the matter were brought forward, if we could count on his support. He said, certainly he would support it. Mr. Levi inquired if we might venture to ask a line from him to introduce us to Bismarck. He smiled and shook his head, and said he could not do that. But he added, "Prince Bismarck knows you." "In fact," he said, "*we* are here a sort of Court of Arbitration. England and Austria are on one side, and Russia is on the other. Germany, France, and Italy are arbitrators between them. We have constantly to mediate between them on various points, and try to bring them into accord. I have been so engaged myself."

The delegates were honoured with a long interview by Herr von Bülow, German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—"a large man, with a face reminding

one somewhat of Bunsen," who not only gave them a cordial reception, but in the kindest terms spoke of his great respect for those who, in the face of so many difficulties, were trying to promote so sacred a cause, and told them that their petition had been brought before the Congress by Prince Bismarck, though he doubted whether the Powers would accept a clause *binding* them to arbitration. He said they must trust to the growth of better sentiments among the nations, and be patient with the world as Providence was patient with them. He could have wished some things had been settled differently, but hinted that it was necessary to make compromises. He cordially shook hands with his visitors as they left, and said, "May God bless you in your work."

Courteous acknowledgments of the receipt of the Peace documents were received from Lord Beaconsfield, Count Schouvaloff of Russia, Count Haymerle of Austria, M. Waddington, and Count de Saint-Vallier, who writing from the French Embassy, expressed his wish for the success of the great and noble enterprise of humanity and progress to which his correspondents had generously consecrated their efforts. Lord Salisbury regretted that the pressure of official business would prevent him receiving the delegates, and added that the decision of the Congress was imperative that no business, except such as arose out of the Treaty of San Stefano, could be entertained. They did not succeed in procuring an interview with either Prince Bismarck or Lord Beaconsfield.

Mr. Richard and his friends found time to call upon Professor Lepsius, the eminent Egyptian scholar:—

He is a fine old man with snow-white hair and moustache. He is Head Librarian to the Royal Library. On Sunday mornings his house is open for the reception of his friends. Owing to the wetness of the day there were only a few present, including several professors and several ladies. I mentioned in the course of conversation that I was a Welshman. "Ah!" he said, "you belong to the Cymry." Dr. Thompson having explained to him the object of our mission, Professor Lepsius said, "You have all Europe with you except the diplomatists, and they are against you only because they don't know how to do what you ask." There was a Countess Priolla *née* d'Amine present, who wished to be introduced to me; she said she was deeply interested in my peace work. She had seen a great deal of the sufferings of war, which were indescribable. I inferred that she had been engaged in the relief of the sick and wounded, at the time probably of the Franco-German War. She talked fast and fluently in tolerable English, and said she would try to interest Prince Hohenlohe and also the Count de Launay, the Italian Plenipotentiary, in our object, with whom she is on intimate terms. She had met Beaconsfield in society. "I might have asked one of our ministers to present me," she remarked, "but he was always surrounded by a bevy of young ladies who were paying court to him." I promised to send her a copy of the discussion in the House of Commons on my Arbitration motion, which has been translated into German. Dr. Thompson told me afterwards that this lady was the daughter of the *Bettina*, with whom Goethe had a curious correspondence.

Through Dr. Hoffman, Professor of Chemistry in the University, they obtained an interview with the Crown Princess (Princess Royal of England), which is thus described:—

We were shown into a fine reception room in the Palace, where we were joined by Count Somebody, whose name I forget, a pleasant

and affable young man, who told us the Emperor was improving, and was now able to put on his military undress and to walk about a little. Very soon the Princess made her appearance, attended by a lady in waiting. Her Royal Highness was in her bonnet, just, I suppose, as she had come from Potsdam. She came up to us with a smiling face—and a very sweet face it is—and said she was glad to see us. "I think, Mr. Richard," said she, "you are a member of Parliament?" and turning to Mr. Levi, "You have been in Berlin before, I believe." I then stated the object of our visit, dwelling especially on the great opportunity that was offered, by the assembling of the Congress of the Great Powers, to adopt some means of settling disputes between nations, without having recourse to the sword, and so avoid the horrors and miseries of war. She said, "Your object, whether you succeed or not, is most laudable. Do you wish me to place this—pointing to a copy of the Memorial, &c., which I had in my hand—before my husband?" "If your Royal Highness would deign to do us that favour we should be greatly obliged." "I will do that with pleasure." "We hope that His Imperial Highness may be able to look at our memorial." "Oh, you may be sure that he will read it carefully." "And may we venture to hope that your Highness will use your influence in our favour?" She smiled and shrugged her shoulders and said, "I am afraid I have not much influence in such matters. But I will communicate with you, either directly, or through Lord Odo Russell."

The delegates subsequently found that the only way in which there was any recognition of their memorial by the Congress was by Article 63 of the New Treaty, which declares that the Treaty of Paris as well as the Treaty of London "are maintained in all such of their provisions as are not abrogated or modified by the preceding stipulations, and might, therefore, be taken to re-affirm the Declaration of 1856 in favour of mediation, instead of war.

Going back to the preceding year, it should be stated that after Parliament rose, Mr. and Mrs. Richard and

their niece, Miss Evans, went on a Continental tour, proceeding first to Antwerp, where the Association for the Reform of International Law held their annual meeting, Lord O'Hagan presiding. Papers were read by Mr. Richard on "The Obligation of Treaties," and by Dr. Thompson, of Berlin, on "Treaties as Matter of the Law of Nations," which excited much interest, and were subsequently discussed by the London press. Mr. Richard, in his paper, contended that international morality would be more effectually raised by the gradual growth of a salutary public opinion than by appeals to brute force. At the closing sitting, the President was highly complimentary on the course pursued by the Association, its aims being practical and reasonable, and its methods marked by intelligence, moderation, and perseverance; and he thought that the organisation had claims on all intellectual men, especially those engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits.*

On leaving Antwerp, Mr. Richard and his companions spent a few days at Brussels, and thence proceeded to Switzerland. At Zurich Mr. Richard paid a visit to the International Institute, then in session, and on arriving at Geneva, *viâ* Berne and Lucerne, he found the Congress on the Social Evil sitting. There he met Mr. Stansfeld, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Mr. Bunting, Mr. Amos, and other friends, and read a paper in French on "Standing Armies as a source of Social

* In the following year the Association met at Frankfort, Lord O'Hagan again presiding, but Mr. Richard, owing to his recent visit to Berlin, was unable, to his great regret, to be present on the occasion.

Immorality." The travellers reached home at the end of September.

Mr. Richard's Continental experiences for 1878 were not, however, over. It was the year of the Paris Universal Exhibition, and a large number of conferences on a variety of subjects were held there, such as that of the International Institute, and there were similar gatherings to discuss the labour problems, and the arbitration question. The latter was held in August, under the auspices of the London Working Men's Peace Association and a Paris Committee, and about a hundred delegates from the principal towns of England being present. There was an enormous attendance. Messrs. Lucraft and Cremer (who originated the demonstration) were among the speakers, most of whom were working men.

This meeting was only the prelude to a more representative International Peace Congress, attended by delegates from the principal countries of Europe—the first of the kind held in Paris since 1849. It met in the Pavillon de Flore, part of the Palace of the Tuileries, the use of which had been granted by the Government. Mr. Richard was present, and amongst those who had taken a leading part in the assembly of twenty-nine years ago were MM. Garnier and Passy. The session lasted five days, and there were Presidents from seven nationalities—those for England being Mr. Henry Pease and Mr. Richard, with Mr. Alfred Illingworth as Vice-President. The Secretary of the Peace Society, who presided at the second sitting, referred to

the experience of the last twenty-five years, during which period the European Powers had increased their armaments to an extent unknown before in the history of the world. So far from these preparations insuring peace, six of the most terrible wars known had been waged. But he did not believe in the Gospel of Despair, for in forty years there had been twenty examples of successful arbitration, and if they would educate the people generally in peace principles, the press consecrate its enormous power to that object, and ministers of religion co-operate, the conflict of reason would supersede the struggle of force. Some of the resolutions adopted had only an indirect connection with the special objects of the Congress, such as Free Trade and religious freedom, but they gave opportunity for the full and free expression of liberal opinion, the speakers including several ladies, a number of working men of various nationalities, the Hungarian General Türr, the Marquis Pepoli (the grandson of Murat), and several members of the French Government, including M. de Marcère, Minister of the Interior, who expressed his cordial sympathy with the principles and aims of the Peace movement, and said they were working in entire harmony with the truth of the future. A committee, composed of Messrs. Van Eck, F. Passy, J. Lemonnier, H. Richard, H. Bellairs, and A. Couvreur were appointed to prepare a plan for the universal Federation of Peace Societies; and at the closing meeting M. Franck, the President, congratulated the members on the general harmony that

had prevailed in the midst of discussions, some of them relating to exciting subjects, and Mr. Richard cordially thanked their French friends for their fraternal welcome. All the official members were entertained at dinner by M. T. de Bort, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and subsequently by M. Léon Say, Minister of Finance. After the Congress a large number of its members accepted an invitation to a banquet at the new Continental Hotel, at which, besides the members of the Government already named, M. Bardoux, Minister of Public Instruction, and other high officials, were present.*

The 9th of May, 1878 was the Jubilee of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which was brought about in 1828 mainly by the agency of Lord Holland in the House of Lords, and of Lord John Russell in the Commons. The veteran leader of the Whig party had long since retired from public life, and by favour of the Queen was calmly spending the last days of his protracted life at Pembroke Lodge, Richmond. With the approval of his lordship's family, a deputation from the Deputies of the three Denominations † went down to

* History in respect of the Peace movement repeats itself. While these pages have been going to press there have been held at Paris another Peace Congress, and a conference of members of European Legislatures favourable to arbitration, in connection with the Centennial Exhibition in the Champ de Mars.

† The members of the deputation were: Messrs. S. Morley, H. Richard, Sir Charles Reed, Mr. J. R. Hill, Revs. J. Baldwin Brown (Chairman of the Congregational Union) J. G. Rogers, and Edward Baines, representing the Independents; Rev. G. Gould (President), Dr. Underhill, and Rev. H. S. Booth (Baptists); Dr. M'Ewan (Presbyterian); and Messrs. New and Aspland (Unitarian).

Richmond to present Earl Russell with an address congratulating him on his conspicuous share in carrying that great measure, and on his life-long advocacy of religious freedom. They were cordially received by the Countess, who regretted that her husband was too feeble in health to be able to welcome them in person. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Richard in an appropriate speech, and after brief and laudatory remarks from Mr. Morley, Mr. Brown, Mr. New, and Mr. Baines, her ladyship read a reply in which Earl Russell, after gratefully expressing his thanks, said that in none of the national struggles in which he had been engaged had he a stronger conviction of the justice and greatness of the issue than in the effort to secure the emancipation of Dissenters from odious disabilities; and of the victories which he had helped to gain, none was dearer to him than the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Subsequently Lord Rollo Russell and Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in feeling and grateful terms addressed the deputation. The more public celebration of the Jubilee was postponed in consequence of Earl Russell's critical condition. In a few weeks the end came, and the decease of his lordship gave rise to general demonstrations of regret and respect; his widow, who had received a great number of addresses from public bodies, gratefully declining the offer of a State funeral.

On the 18th of June a public banquet at the Cannon Street Hotel, to commemorate the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, took place. Earl Granville presided, Mr. Richard was placed in the vice-chair,

and there was an unprecedented attendance of Liberal members of all shades of opinion, and of Nonconformist ministers and laymen. The Chairman, in giving the first toast:—"The event we commemorate—the first of those triumphs of religious liberty, which have made the half-century memorable"—dwelt with much felicity upon the national services of the recently deceased statesman, and upon the valuable support given by Nonconformists to the Liberal party.* Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., proposed the second toast—"The Protestant Dissenting Deputies, and the other public bodies who initiated and carried to a successful issue the agitation for the repeal." To this Mr. Richard responded, and in the course of his speech he produced a medal which had been struck in 1828 in connection with the event they were celebrating, and at the request of their Secretary (Mr. Shepheard) placed it in the hands of their Chairman—one who had already guarded, and would no doubt in the future courageously and eloquently defend, those principles of religious liberty which that medal might be said to symbolise. "The revered memory of Earl Russell, the patriotic and consistent champion of the rights of conscience," was responded to by Lord Arthur Russell, and then Mr. W. E. Forster proposed the memory of the Parliamentary

* In this speech Earl Granville claimed for his deceased friend that in private life he was a charming companion, abounding in striking reminiscences, and the author of many witty sayings, such as his well-known retort upon Sir Francis Burdett. That celebrated politician in later years turned Tory, and when on one occasion he sneered at "the cant of patriotism," Lord John promptly replied that there was one thing worse—"the recant of patriotism."

associates of the departed statesman, dwelling to a great extent upon the grand example of the old Puritans; a safe topic for a statesman who had been somewhat at war with their descendants. The health of Mr. George Hadfield, "whose persistent advocacy of the Qualification for Offices Bill swept away the last relics of the Test and Corporation Acts," was proposed by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, but the feeble health of the veteran Nonconformist prevented him from being present. Among the other speakers were Mr. Osborne Morgan, Lord Cork, and the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, whose significant reference to "religious equality" afterwards drew from Mr. Goschen the remark that there were Church as well as Nonconformist advocates of religious liberty, and who hinted that it was undesirable to invite the secession of any portion of their army, by summoning them to a cause for which they had not been enrolled. As may be imagined the proceedings at this feast were somewhat protracted, but by no means to the extent of the banquet of half a century ago, which lasted till half-past one in the morning!

Prior to the International Congress held in Paris, the Peace Society had issued an address, signed by Mr. Henry Pease, Mr. Wise, and Mr. Richard, calling upon their friends to protest against a war of wanton aggression in Afghanistan. Before Lord Beaconsfield's crusade in favour of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was fully developed, the scheme for coercing the independent Afghans with a view to secure "a scientific frontier" for India was set on foot. Lord

Northbrook, the Governor-General, declining to pick a quarrel with the Ameer, was superseded, and Lord Lytton sent out in his place. The new Viceroy began by demanding the permanent residence at Cabul of a British mission, to which Shere Ali objected, on the ground that he could not ensure for its members adequate protection, and he asked for time. It seems that when the Eastern Question was at the critical stage, Russia without invitation sent Envoys to the Ameer, who was nervously anxious for their safety during their temporary stay at Cabul, and did not enter into their schemes. This was the pretext for aggressive action, although the Ameer, then as before, was willing to receive Mussulman agents. Sir Neville Chamberlain was ordered to enter Afghan territory without Shere Ali's permission; and the advance guard, under Major Cavagnari, was courteously stopped at the frontier, although the London papers falsely represented that he was grossly insulted. The mission returned to Peshawur, war was declared against Afghanistan, and Parliament was summoned to meet on December 5, 1878. Heated debates took place in both Houses, and the position taken by the Liberal leaders that war had been declared without the sanction of Parliament, that it had been deliberately provoked, and that the Government policy was repudiated by the most experienced Indian statesmen, from Lord Lawrence downwards, produced a great effect on public opinion. This effect was heightened by the opposition shown to the Afghan policy of the Government in the House of Lords by Lords Derby,

Carnarvon, and Shaftesbury, though six bishops were found to support it. The Peace Society did all in its power to evoke such an expression of popular opinion as might, at least, save the nation from complicity in the transaction, and many large demonstrations took place in various parts of the country. Mr. Richard also wrote a series of letters on the subject in the *Christian World*, analysing, in his usual thorough manner, the official papers on the Afghan imbroglio from the outset, and proving that, even judged by the ordinary standard of international right, it was an unnecessary and utterly unrighteous war. These letters were afterwards published in a pamphlet form, and very widely circulated. Such efforts, combined with the strong protests of Liberal statesmen, Indian veterans, religious bodies outside the Established Church, and a large section of the mercantile classes, did not, however, move her Majesty's Ministers, and the House of Commons supported them, though unwillingly, by granting the necessary supplies, as well as a loan of two millions, without interest, to the Indian Executive. This is not the place to dwell upon the vicissitudes of that ill-omened war—such as the death of Shere Ali, the conflict waged by Yakoop Khan, the massacre of Cavagnari and his mission at Cabul, the occupation of Candahar, the defeat of General Burrows, and the temporary conquest of Southern Afghanistan by Sir F. Roberts—which cost the British nation sixteen millions sterling, and ended in seating Abdurrahman on the Afghan throne.

The Beaconsfield Ministry not only left the Afghan

trouble as a legacy to their successors in office, but also a Zulu war. The latter broke out early in March, 1879. It was the war of Sir Bartle Frere, our "prancing Pro-Consul"—as Sir W. Harcourt called him—in South Africa. "Opposed, checkmated, almost snubbed by the Government at home," says Mr. Richard, "his pleas refuted, one after another, by Sir Henry Bulwer, who was really responsible for the government of Natal, he returns to it again and again, as though it would break his heart if he were baulked in the design of having war with Cetewayo." The Government censured, but did not recall Sir Bartle, and allowed the policy to be developed, which led to the terrible catastrophe of Isandula, and required the sending out of General Wolseley and British reinforcements, at a fearful expense, to conquer Zululand, and capture its King at Ulundi. The ultimate result of this vast expenditure of blood and treasure* was anarchy in Zululand, the loss of ten thousand lives, the uprising of the Boers against the annexation forced upon them, the disastrous engagement of Majuba Hill, and our subsequent withdrawal from the Transvaal, which Mr. Gladstone had the courage to insist on. What took place in South Africa was the Nemesis of "the spirited foreign policy" of the Beaconsfield Administration, which, as Mr. Richard said, "always meant a policy of aggression and meddling, of bluster and of blood, and almost always led either to war or to national humiliation, generally to both."

* Mr. Richard stated in one of his speeches that since 1871 seven millions of British money had been expended on South Africa.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880—MR. GLADSTONE PREMIER.

When the year 1880 opened, the fall of the Beaconsfield Government was near at hand. To the last the Prime Minister seems to have believed that the country was dazzled by his Asiatic Imperialism, and the favour he enjoyed at Court; perhaps, too, he was deceived by the success of the Solicitor-General (Sir E. Clarke) at the anomalous bye-election for Southwark. A less optimist ruler would have regarded as ominous the general stagnation of business, and the agricultural depression, coupled with a declining revenue, an increased expenditure, and the growing hostility of those whose religious views were seriously outraged by a pagan foreign policy. The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament seemed to give promise of a working session; but accumulating difficulties in the House of Commons provoked Lord Beaconsfield to appeal to the country, and Parliament was dissolved on the 24th of March. The manifesto of the Prime Minister referred among other things to Home Rule, which, he said, was patronised by the Liberal party, and was "scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine." This caused the Irish vote to be given solidly against the Tories. The

combination against them was formidable. Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, Sir W. Harcourt, and Mr. Chamberlain put forth all their efforts; Lord Derby openly avowed his adhesion to the Liberal party; and Mr. Gladstone made his triumphant progress from Hawarden to Midlothian, delivering a succession of masterly and marvellous speeches at Edinburgh and elsewhere in the county. The first day's electoral polls demolished Lord Beaconsfield's majority, and the final result of the conflict gave the Liberals a majority of 114 over their opponents (351 to 237) independent of 65 Home Rulers. The re-election of Mr. Richard for the Merthyr Boroughs was a matter of course. Mr. Charles H. James, a resident of the borough, who had for some time been selected by the party, was chosen as his Liberal colleague. He was opposed by Mr. W. T. Lewis, the mineral agent of Lord Bute, who came out as an Independent, and relied upon the support of many of the colliery owners and agents. He issued an address which, as Mr. Bright said, in a letter expressing gratification that Mr. James was coupled with his "old friend, Mr. Richard," was "a fine specimen of the kind which is intended to deceive the unwary." Mr. Richard's address to the electors referred to the honour they had conferred upon him by accepting him as their representative for twelve years, and concluded by saying:—

"I hope the suffrages of Merthyr and of South Wales at this election will be given in such a way as to show that my countrymen believe the greatness, the honour, and the dignity of Great Britain can be best secured, not by a policy of intrigue and violence

and blood, but by walking in the paths of peace, and adhering in all our dealings to that righteousness which exalteth a nation."

The polling took place on the 2nd of April with the following result:—

Richard...	8,035
James	7,526
Lewis	4,445

Giving to the senior member a majority of 3,590 over the Independent candidate. Ever since Mr. Richard appeared at Merthyr, Mr. James had been his active and unswerving adherent, and the return of that gentleman by so enormous a vote was specially gratifying to the veteran member. Before long it became known that in the Principality there was victory all along the line. Wales had now completed her political emancipation. Of the thirty members returned two only were Conservatives—Sir Watkin Wynn for North Wales, and Lord Emlyn for South Wales, and the latter only succeeded in Carmarthenshire because the Liberals were too timid to bring forward a second candidate; Mr. Powell having been returned by more than 1,000 votes over his lordship, the greater part of which were plumpers, and 1,389 over the defeated candidate. This signal electoral triumph in the Principality was attributed by Mr. Richard mainly to three things—the overwhelming preponderance of Nonconformists, their confidence in the secrecy of the Ballot, and the deep indignation of the electorate at the unrighteous wars carried on by the Beaconsfield

Government.* Out of the great Liberal majority for the United Kingdom more than a hundred were believed to be Nonconformists.

When the result of the elections became known, the Queen, who had been staying at Hesse Darmstadt, to be present at the confirmation of the daughters of the late Princess Alice, hastened home, and on the 28th of April received the resignation of Ministers. Her Majesty first sent for Lord Hartington, and then for Lord Granville. Both of these statesmen having informed her that Mr. Gladstone was the only possible Prime Minister, the task of forming a new Government was at length entrusted to him. The difficulty of constructing a new Cabinet was very great, owing to the antipathy of the moderate Liberals to Mr. Chamberlain, but it was eventually overcome.†

* In the following June there was a great Welsh demonstration at the Crystal Palace to celebrate these victories, at which some 4,000 persons were present, excursion trains being run from various parts of the Principality. Lord Sudeley presided. Mr. Richard spoke in Welsh, and suggested that Sir Watkin Wynn might be selected as a specimen of that almost extinct species, a Welsh Conservative member. During the proceedings Mrs. Gladstone, attended by her daughter and her son Herbert, appeared on the platform amid a tempest of applause.

† The chief offices of the Government were distributed as follows:—Mr. Gladstone, Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne; Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville; Home Secretary, Sir W. Harcourt; Indian Secretary, Lord Hartington; War Secretary, Mr. Childers; First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Northbrook; Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Bright; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Chamberlain; President of the Council, Lord Spencer; Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. W. E. Forster; Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Argyll; President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Dodson. Outside the Cabinet Mr. Fawcett became Postmaster-General; Sir Charles Dilke, Under-Foreign Secretary; Sir Henry James, Attorney-General; Sir Farrar Herschell, Solicitor-

It was not till April 29th that the new Parliament met. It was, of course, a broken session, and it was not the fault of Lord Randolph Churchill and his "Fourth Party"—sometimes in alliance with the Parnellites, and sometimes alone in their continuous obstruction—that it was not a barren one. The dead-set made against the admission of Mr. Bradlaugh to Parliament, his own inconsistencies in the matter, the attempt to enter the House, and the action of his opponents, whose object was to convey the impression that Mr. Gladstone was the champion of Atheism, consumed much valuable time, and everything was in arrear. Great pressure, was, however, brought upon the Government to introduce a Burials Bill, and they eventually consented. On a question with which the senior member for Merthyr was so prominently associated, a word of explanation may be useful to make the course of events clear. As already stated, the resolution of Mr. Osborne Morgan on the subject was rejected in 1875 by the small majority of 33, and the subsequent Burials Bill of Mr. Cross was withdrawn. Afterwards Earl Granville, with great courage, moved a resolution in the House of Lords asserting the necessity of allowing interments in churchyards with a Christian Service other than that prescribed by the Prayer Book. It was rejected by a

General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Adam, First Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Secretary to the Admiralty; and Mr. Osborne Morgan, Judge-Advocate-General. Mr. Goschen was sent out as Special Ambassador to Constantinople—Mr. Layard having indefinite leave of absence—and Lord Ripon succeeded Lord Lytton as Indian Viceroy.

majority of 56, but 115 peers voted for it, including the Bishop of Exeter, while the Primate (Dr. Tait) was vacillating. There was a general feeling that concession was expedient. Accordingly in 1877 the Duke of Richmond brought in a Bill on the lines of that previously introduced by Mr. Cross, providing for the closing of burial grounds for sanitary reasons, and allowing burial without the Church Service—that is, in silence. All sections of Nonconformists combined in indignantly protesting against this insulting measure. Lord Granville met the second reading with an amendment in the sense of his resolution of 1876. The majority against him was reduced to 39, and the speeches of members of the Episcopal Bench were hesitating. When the Bill went into Committee the silent burial clause was abandoned, and Lord Harrowby who, with Lord Shaftesbury, was anxious for a reasonable settlement, now revived in substance Lord Granville's clause, and the two Archbishops concurred that it would be dangerous to keep the question open. On Lord Harrowby's clause being put to the vote there was a tie—102 on each side, which created great excitement throughout the country. The clergy were greatly alarmed, and within ten days 12,500 signed a declaration protesting against the proposed innovation. This attempt to influence the House of Lords did not, however, succeed. On the report, Lord Harrowby moved the insertion of his clause, which was carried by 127 to 111 votes. The result was that the Government abandoned their measure. Early in the following session

Mr. Osborne Morgan moved a resolution in the House of Commons embodying the concession to Nonconformists, which was rejected by only 15 votes (242 to 227). In 1879 there were several abortive attempts by Conservatives to legislate on the subject, which indicated the strong desire there was for a satisfactory settlement.

The Burials Bill of the new Government, drafted by Mr. Osborne Morgan, was first introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Chancellor Selborne in June, 1880. The second reading was opposed by Bishop Wordsworth, but supported by the two Archbishops, and carried by a majority of 25. In committee sundry amendments were passed, and on the third reading, at the end of the month, there was no division. So great were the hindrances to its progress that the measure was not considered in the Lower House till the middle of August, giving time for its previous condemnation by both Houses of Convocation, which, however, did not avail. Its provisions were lucidly explained by Mr. Osborne Morgan, and Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster were amongst the supporters of the second reading, which was carried by 258 to 79 votes. In Committee the clause inserted by the Lords restricting the measure to parishes where there were no unconsecrated grounds or cemeteries, was rejected, and the Archbishop of York's amendment, excluding consecrated portions of cemeteries, was expunged. In the clause requiring the Burial Service to be "Christian and orderly," Mr. Illingworth proposed that the words should be "Christian or other orderly

service." An animated debate ensued, Mr. Richard, Sir Charles Dilke, and other members supporting the amendment. It was rejected by 125 to 57, mainly on the assurance of Mr. Morgan, that if carried it would wreck the measure, and on the 31st of August the Bill was read a third time, and passed without a division. The amendments of the Commons, even including that suppressing any reference to Convocation, were accepted by their lordships, and on the 3rd of September the Bill received the Royal Assent, and came into immediate operation.

The Act of 1880 was confessedly a compromise, and applied only to parochial churchyards. In 1883, therefore—Mr. Morgan being unable to take up the subject—Mr. Richard introduced a Cemeteries Bill, the main objects of which were to get rid of the compulsory provision of two chapels, and the division into consecrated and unconsecrated ground in future cemeteries, leaving the Bishop to consecrate the portion belonging to the Church of England, or the whole, but without expense to the public, and abolishing compensation fees, except as regards present incumbents. The Bill was talked out. It was introduced again in June, 1884, and the discussion of the second reading occupied a Wednesday's sitting. Mr. Beresford Hope led the opposition in a very bitter speech, and Mr. Osborne Morgan, on behalf of the Government, accepted the principle of the Bill, reserving details. There was barely time to secure a division, which resulted in the carrying of the second reading by 176 to 154, a large number of Liberals being absent. Although Mr. Richard had much trouble with

the question session after session, and the Home Secretary (Sir W. Harcourt) more than once promised a Government Bill on the subject, political exigencies, combined with the increase of obstruction in the House of Commons, prevented further progress. The Burials question has since come back into the hands of Mr. Osborne Morgan, who being baffled by the chances of the ballot, still awaits the opportunity of presenting a more complete Bill.

It was natural that the triumph of Nonconformists at the general election of 1880 should be duly celebrated, and towards the end of May, 1880, there was a Parliamentary breakfast of the friends of religious equality at the Cannon Street Hotel, under the auspices of the Liberation Society and the Deputies. Mr. Richard presided, and was supported by some thirty members of Parliament. The speeches on this occasion, and especially that of the Chairman, excited a good deal of public comment, the *Times* being amongst the most moderate and reasonable. Mr. Richard said that he was almost affected to tears by the new-born sympathy shown by the Opposition press for ill-used Nonconformity, seeing that it was declared to be *their* Parliament, and that Mr. Gladstone himself had acknowledged, in the most glowing and generous terms, their immense services as "the backbone of the Liberal party." But they were not going, as their political foes no doubt wished, to withdraw confidence from their political friends if their extreme demands were not carried into effect. They were ready to exercise

forbearance towards a Government which had succeeded to a most dismal inheritance of blunders, complications, and crimes, and to remember that while they were Nonconformists they were also members of the great British community, interested in everything that concerned its peace, prosperity, and honour If, therefore, good measures were proposed, they would rally round the Government. They would not also forget that whatever they had gained in some fifty years' alliance with the Liberals, either in the removal of disabilities or the acquisition of civil and political rights, was the result of their own efforts, though the Liberal theory was that they ought to act on the Evangelical principle —"Do good and lend, hoping for nothing again." This was illustrated by the fact that in the hundred odd offices disposed of at the formation of the Government, with the exception of two gentlemen who were in the Cabinet for other reasons, not a single Nonconformist was thought worthy to be made even an Under-Secretary's secretary. But they were not office hunters, though there was some disadvantage in being altogether excluded from official life. They made no grievance of it, but only wished to call attention to the fact. At the same time they would not relinquish their right to advocate, in and out of Parliament, those principles and measures which they held to be of vital importance to the nation.

As occasion offered Mr. Richard took part in the proceedings of the House of Commons. His attendance was exemplary, and his vote always to be relied on by the

Liberal whips. He spoke strongly against a census of religious profession, when the Government Census Bill was under consideration, administering a severe castigation to Mr. Beresford Hope for his uncharitableness; and strenuously supported, with an array of cogent facts and arguments, the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill, which afterwards became law. On the 16th of June Mr. Richard succeeded in bringing forward his motion in favour of a mutual and simultaneous reduction of European armaments, declaring that the armed state of Europe was an affront to reason, a scandal upon civilisation, a scourge to humanity, and, above all, a reproach to that holy religion of Peace, which the nations of Europe professed to accept and reverence. Why, he asked, could not the nations which had emulated each other in the increase of armaments, now reverse the process? and he appealed to the Prime Minister to add to the laurels that encircled his brow by taking up a question not unworthy of his transcendent abilities. Mr. Gladstone said that the speech of his honourable friend "commanded his fullest concurrence," but he could not anticipate beneficial results from any overtures that might be made at the present time to Foreign Powers. Mr. Baxter and Mr. Lyulph Stanley supported the motion, the latter urging that England should set the example. At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Courtney, the words "on all occasions when the circumstances admit of it" were introduced, and accepted by Mr. Gladstone. The resolution, thus amended, was carried *nem. con.*, with cheers.

In the following year (April 29), Mr. Richard succeeded in raising a debate on the following motion :—

"That the power claimed and exercised by the representatives of this country, in various parts of the world, to contract engagements, annex territories, and make war, in the name of the nation, without authority from the Central Government, is opposed to the principles of the British Constitution, is at variance with recognised rules of International Law, and is fraught with danger to the honour and true interests of the country."

In support of this motion the honourable member made perhaps the most elaborate speech he had delivered in Parliament. It was worthy of Mr. Cobden himself. His historical statement and supporting quotations took a very wide range, chiefly in respect to England's colonial experience, and he had no difficulty in showing that our Colonial Governors, High Commissioners, and other representatives of the country abroad, had been too prone to contract grave and onerous engagements, annex vast territories, and make wars in the name of the nation. The question was, he said, whether this great country is to be master of its own destinies, or whether every petty officer, dressed in a little brief authority, was to be at liberty to pledge the blood and treasure and moral responsibility of thirty-two millions of people to any extent, at the impulse of his own pride, resentment, or caprice; and he effectively quoted the language used by the Prime Minister, in the armament debate of the preceding year, condemnatory of such conduct. In an equally elaborate speech, Mr. Gladstone examined the several cases

marshalled by Mr. Richard, with the view of showing that the wars he denounced were generally approved by Parliament and the people. He contended that in a vast empire like ours governors and commanders must be entrusted with considerable discretion, but that the supervision of the Central Government was greatly increased by the extension of the telegraph, but he admitted that the central authority was as much in need of self-discipline as its extraneous agents. In the debate which followed, Mr. Warton alone took the same side. The motion was supported on various grounds by Mr. Rathbone, Sir G. Campbell, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Rylands, who quoted two memorable cases against the Premier—the indefensible China war, in which some of the most independent statesmen of the day were rejected by constituencies because they opposed Lord Palmerston's policy in the matter, and the continuance of Sir Bartle Frere as Chief Commissioner in South Africa, whose aggressive policy was disapproved of by the late, as well as the present Government. In the end, the motion was defeated by a majority of eight (72 to 64).

During 1880 the President of the Council (Earl Spencer) invited Mr. Richard to become a member of the Departmental Committee or Commission, to inquire into the condition of the intermediate and higher education of the Principality, including Monmouthshire. Lord Aberdare was the chairman of the Committee, and Lord Emlyn, Professor Rhys, Mr. Hugh Owen, Mr. Lewis Morris, and Canon Robinson, of

York—the last named an ardent educationalist—were his other colleagues. The inquiry, which was very exhaustive, lasted, off and on, from October, 1880, to February in the following year. The Committee visited many of the larger towns in Wales, and examined between two and three hundred witnesses, including the four bishops, members of Parliament, deans, and other dignitaries of the Church, professional men, masters and teachers of colleges and schools, clergymen, and ministers of all denominations, members of Boards, and working men. They found the provision for middle class education deplorably insufficient in the public grammar and private schools—little more than for 3,000, whereas it ought to have been for some 15,000; and for higher education, apart from theological seminaries, there were only the Aberyswith, St. David's, and Lampeter Colleges. For girls there were only three endowed schools. The value of the educational charities was only £14,281. During the five months of the inquiry, the Commissioners showed the utmost diligence, and notwithstanding the arduous nature of the duties, and to some of them the pressure of Parliamentary work, the report was ready in July, 1881, and the evidence made a portly folio volume of about a thousand pages.

The following were, in brief, the chief recommendations of the Commissioners :—That many of the existing schools and endowments should be altered, and so adapted to the needs and circumstances of the country, as to be of more general utility; that new schools of different classes—some grammar schools, others science

schools, and others a superior kind of elementary schools, should be planted in various parts of Wales; such schools should be undenominational, and they ought to be governed by bodies elected by the people themselves. It was further recommended that there should be exhibitions from elementary to the higher schools, and from these to the Universities, so that there would be a kind of educational ladder, by which clever youths might climb to the top. It was further proposed that there should be a North and South Wales College, and a yearly grant of £4,000 to each, and a body appointed for conferring degrees upon educated Welshmen. Substantially these recommendations were embodied in a Bill brought in by Mr. Mundella, but owing to political exigencies it did not get through its various stages. The matter was again and again pressed upon the attention of the Government by Mr. Richard and his Welsh fellow-members, but their appeals were resultless, except that eventually they secured a Parliamentary grant of £4,000 each for the University Colleges of Bangor, Aberyswith, and Cardiff.*

* After protracted delays the question of Intermediate Education in Wales has been settled by a compromise. The subject was ably introduced in the House of Commons in May last, when Mr. Stuart Rendel, on behalf of the Welsh Liberal members, proposed the second reading of a Bill, the chief features of which were, an independent National Board of Education for the Principality, consisting of one nominee for each county, and the constitution of the County Councils as the local authority with power to levy rates. The Government consented to the second reading of the Bill on condition that certain amendments should be introduced, and, after a great deal of negotiation between the two parties, the following results were obtained:—The Government refused a National Board, to which Mr. Rendel and his colleagues submitted under protest. For the County

Mr. Lewis Morris, M.A., has left on record a very interesting estimate of Mr. Richard's public services in this direction, as well as in others. After stating that it was his privilege to enjoy the uninterrupted friendship of the member for Merthyr since the meeting of the Eisteddfod at Menai Bridge, about ten years before, he goes on to say :—

We were colleagues on the Departmental Committee in 1880–81, and travelled and lived together for many weeks during the progress of an inquiry which to both of us was of the deepest interest, and I look back with pleasure to the fact that we were in the most complete accord and active co-operation on all the great questions relating to education, notably the question of co-optation to governing bodies, and the best means of solving the ubiquitous religious difficulty which divides Churchmen and Nonconformists in the Principality. I could not but admire the calm and judicial spirit and at the same time the sturdy independence, with which Mr. Richard conducted the examination of witnesses, who probably had

Council as the local authority they substituted a joint committee composed of three nominees of the Government, and three representatives of the County Council, but without the power of levying rates except by consent of the County Council. On this point, after much pressure, the Government gave way by agreeing that the Joint Committee should consist of three representatives and two nominees, regard being had in the latter case to local claims. The Joint Committee were empowered to provide schemes for new schools and to make new schemes of management for existing schools, to be submitted to the Charity Commission and Privy Council. The proposal of the Government to exclude Monmouthshire from the Bill was, after much contention, abandoned. Certain of the charities which it was proposed to eliminate from the Bill were restored, and the advantages of the Cowper-Temple Clause, which are operative in day-schools, were for the first time extended to boarding-schools. In these seminaries the authorities must, at the requirement of the parent or guardian, on religious grounds, find suitable boarding accommodation for scholars outside the school, thus providing a check on proselytising in middle-class schools which are largely under clerical management. The Bill, thus modified, was accepted by the members for Wales, passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent.

never before realised fully, if at all, grievances which all of the Committee came to admit before the close of the inquiry, and which no thinking person will now deny. The measure for Intermediate Education which the Committee recommended is after seven long years still delayed, and for all that appears may be delayed further, until all the members of the Committee, and almost all those who were the pioneers of the great and beneficent movement which is represented and from which it sprung, are no more. Sir Hugh Owen, Canon Hugh Robinson, and now Henry Richard are no more; but the work which they set on foot will not die, though none of us who worked with them may live to see its final accomplishment.

On the question of Higher Education in Wales, Mr. Richard was permitted to enjoy in his lifetime a not inadequate foretaste of final success. Of the great and successful College at Cardiff he was Vice-President. Of the older College at Aberystwith he was the constant friend, and as a member of the Council and often, in the absence of Lord Aberdare, as President of its meetings, he did it invaluable service. A few weeks back he attended the Deputation to the Lord President, for the purpose of urging the claims of the College to a Royal Charter, and a permanent grant, and spoke with his usual vigorous common sense. At the beginning of the present month he presided over the long and arduous deliberations of the Council, at which the proposed form of Charter was finally settled. I see that a writer in a Liberal paper says that he then manifested signs of physical weakness, which his friends regretted to observe. I can only say that I saw nothing of this. I sat next to him all day long, explained the proposed Charter clause by clause to him and the meeting, and I was struck throughout by the grasp of argument and of fact which distinguished him through the day, and the tact which enabled him to dispose of all knotty points, and to reconcile conflicting opinions almost as soon as they arose. I rejoice that he was spared to witness the practical concession to the College of all that it had striven for, during so many years, and after so many discouragements.*

Previous to entering upon his arduous duties in connection with the Welsh Departmental Committee, Mr.

* Letter in the *Cymru Fydd* for August, 1888.

Richard sought to fortify his health by a short tour during September, in Switzerland and Northern Italy, in company with his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Bishop. His notes of this journey show how constantly he carried his burden on his back. Here and there is the record of the study of Blue Books by way of preparation for the inquiry referred to above, and of the writing of social and political articles. There is an interesting entry of a rencontre at Lucerne with Lord Beaconsfield's brother, who was an official of the House of Lords, and with whom he had much pleasant and friendly talk. This trip had a melancholy interest for Mr. and Mrs. Richard. Mr. Bishop, his brother-in-law, was called home by urgent business, and during his rapid journey back again his health was much impaired, and the seeds of disease implanted in his constitution which led to his untimely death in 1881, in the 56th year of his age.

CHAPTER XXII.

WORK FOR WALES—THE WAR IN EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

ALTHOUGH the subject of this memoir had, at the period now under review, passed the threescore and ten years, when interest in the activities of life is supposed to abate and rest becomes increasingly welcome, he found it impossible to escape from the responsible duties of his position. His earnest desire to serve his day and generation rather increased as time went on, and for several years afterwards, although the infirmities of age grew upon him, he cheerfully accepted public engagements from which many men twenty years younger would have shrunk. A full record of Mr. Richard's labours in and out of Parliament at this time would astonish those who have not cultivated active work as a habit. As a much-respected friend wrote him about this time, "I am afraid that your rest is equivalent to many people's labour." A few only of the salient features of his active life since the beginning of a new decade can here be noticed.

To a nature so sympathetic, and not of gregarious habits, the frequent loss of faithful and attached comrades in the battle of life had a saddening influence. Count Sclopis, for whom Mr. Richard felt a cordial admiration, had lately gone to his rest. A still more severe loss

was the subsequent decease of his early friend and coadjutor, Mr. Elihu Burritt, who to the last never slackened his efforts in the cause of universal peace, on the other side of the Atlantic. Most painful of all was the departure of his veteran colleague, Mr. Edward Miall, who died in April, 1881. Two years before a party of friends, including Mr. Richard and Mr. Bright, had waited upon him at his residence at Honor Oak to present him with an address of congratulation on the anniversary of his seventieth birthday, which greatly cheered his declining years. At the funeral service in the Forest Hill Congregational Church, after his death, Mr. Richard could not decline giving an address—to him a very trying ordeal—on the character and services of the deceased, with whom, as he said, he had "had the inestimable privilege of living for many years on terms of intimate friendship," and "of bearing some humble share in his counsels and public labours." In his closing words—words equally applicable to himself seven years later—Mr. Richard said:—

"We stand now over the coffin of one of whom we may say, as was said of the Master, whom he loved and tried to follow, he has finished the work that was given him to do. Let us make him our example. It may not be given us to emulate him in vigour of intellect, in power of eloquence, in capacity to influence and sway the minds of other men. But let us try to follow him in his loyalty to conscience, in his fidelity to principle, in his patient continuance in well-doing, in his devotion to truth and duty, and in his unfaltering trust in God."

A few months later Mr. Richard lost another of his old friends by the death, at the advanced age of seventy-

seven, of Sir Hugh Owen, of the Poor Law Board. Forty years before they had co-operated in that educational work which had since yielded most gratifying results, and in that patriotic labour—especially in the founding of Aberyswith College—Sir Hugh persevered to the end of his active life. In the funeral service in Abney Chapel, close to the cemetery, Mr. Richard delivered a touching address, in which he referred to his deceased friend as among the most strenuous, devoted, and persevering labourers, whose united efforts accomplished so much for the benefit of the Principality. He was a humble, devout believer in Christ, and left them with "a hope that is full of immortality." "May we," said the speaker, in concluding his address, "live in the light of that hope, and feel its serene and unquenchable radiance shine upon us when the dread moment comes, as it must come to all, when we shall sail into that silent sea—the dark, shoreless, fathomless sea of eternity." Some time before Mr. Richard had to mourn over the death of the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, of Kensington, whose spiritual ministrations at Allen Street Congregational Church, Kensington, were a great comfort and refreshment to himself and the members of his household.*

In connection with the Jubilee of the formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales meetings were held in various parts of the country, and a

* To Dr. Raleigh succeeded the Rev. B. Colmer Symes, and when he accepted another charge, the Rev. Edward White took the temporary oversight of the church and congregation.

course of lectures was delivered at the Memorial Hall. Mr. Richard presided at one of the first meetings held in the Town Hall, Birmingham—Dr. Hannay and Dr. Dale being among the speakers—and subsequently he delivered one of the addresses at the Memorial Hall, on "Nonconformity in Wales," a subject which he had long since made his own.* To a large extent it abounded in historical reminiscences, and the marvellous growth of voluntaryism in the Principality—some £400,000 being, as he showed, annually raised for religious purposes by the Dissenting bodies combined. Mr. Richard also dwelt upon the political power of Dissenters, contrasting the time when, as he could remember, Wales had not a single Nonconformist representative with the present, when twenty-eight out of the thirty members for the Principality were Liberals, of whom a considerable number were Nonconformists. This lecture was speedily followed by an article in the *British Quarterly Review*, in reply to one published in the *Church Quarterly*,† which took for its text the report of the Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in the Principality. "This production," says Mr. Richard, "was a vehement attack upon myself, and through my sides, on Welsh Nonconformity, and the people of

* In connection with the Jubilee of the Congregational Union, a fund was raised for Home Missions, the liquidation of chapel debts, and for giving aid to new places of worship, colleges, and schools. When the accounts, extending over several years, were closed, the fund had reached an aggregate of £434,470.

† It afterwards came out that the writer was Dr. Ollivant, the late Bishop of Llandaff, a very amiable and exemplary man, but of fossilised opinions, and strongly antagonistic to Nonconformists.

Wales generally." * The article, though written when the author had turned his seventieth year, will, for pungency, closeness of reasoning, and the skilful marshalling of its facts, worthily compare with the earlier lectures which evoked the admiration of Mr. Richard's countrymen. The curious feature of the *Church Quarterly* article was that the writer had to go back to some Nonconformist publications of forty years ago for facts, national defects and delinquencies, which had been set forth in order that the religious communities might do their utmost to remedy them; and then he turned round on contemporary Nonconformist ministers and others and said, "These are the fruits of *your* labours." Mr. Richard's vindication of Welsh Nonconformity was easy as well as triumphant.

In the autumn of 1881 the National Eisteddfod was held at Merthyr, and it was natural that Mr. Richard should be asked to preside at the principal meeting, the pavilion in which it was held being crowded by some 6,000 people, and the day observed as a general holiday. The somewhat unusual course was adopted of presenting their Chairman with an address, in which his chief services to the Principality were epitomised, but which was somewhat toned down to suit a non-political occasion. Mr. Richard addressed the vast audience in the Welsh language, and in the course of his reply said that, though he had lived some fifty years in England,

* Introduction to the new edition of "Letters and Essays on the Social and Political Condition of Wales," to which the article referred to is added. James Clarke and Co., 13 and 14, Fleet Street.

he had never forgotten Wales, and that when, in early life, he went to London he determined to mind three things—not to forget the language of his country; not to ignore the people and the cause of his country; and to neglect no opportunity of defending the character and promoting the interests of his country; and he hoped he had done something to make the two nations better understand and appreciate each other. When speaking of the vast changes that had taken place, he said that in his early days it took three days—sleeping two nights on the road—to travel from Tregaron to London, and in the preceding era it was a tradition in Cardiganshire that any one going to the Metropolis must make his will. Dilating on the great advance of education in Wales, he referred to the great advantages of the Eisteddfod, which had been eloquently expounded by one of the greatest men of our age, William Ewart Gladstone; an allusion which, of course, evoked much cheering.*

The conspicuous position of the senior member for Merthyr drew upon him a variety of claims. Notwithstanding his great popularity, he had to remark, in the *South Wales Daily News*, upon what is sometimes called "milking the member"—that is, making incessant demands upon him for subscriptions to every conceivable object, especially for chapels and schools. Now, Mr. Richard was among the most generous of men, and not only delighted in assisting others, but was also

* In the following year the National Eisteddfod was held at Liverpool, and Mr. Richard took a prominent part in the proceedings.

prompt in making personal sacrifices to that end. But he felt that by the vicious practice referred to, the proper relation between representative and constituents was reversed, and Parliamentary seats were apt to become preserves for rich men who could afford to spend lavishly. Yet in these days most members rendered hard and heavy services in various ways, to which the claims of business, domestic comfort, and often health, had to be sacrificed; while living in London six months in the year, and mingling much in society, involved a heavy expenditure. A little later some ill-conditioned Welshman, who probably stood almost alone, wrote a letter to one of the papers complaining that the members for the Principality did not talk enough in the House, and were not sufficiently awake to their Parliamentary duties. Though this could not possibly have been alleged against Mr. Richard personally, he at once took public notice of what he regarded as an ungenerous attack. In these days when national business was swamped by a frothy deluge of talk, was not silence a virtue? So thought Mr. Gladstone. The charge that Welsh members did not speak in favour of Welsh claims was equally unfounded. He could recall some five or six times since he had been in Parliament when the speaking on Welsh claims was almost limited to Welsh members. They were said to be not sufficiently importunate in respect to Intermediate Education, to which the member for Merthyr replied:—

Nothing can be more untrue. I can at least answer for myself, and I have no doubt other Welsh members have been equally alive.

By personal interview, and by letter, I had most important communications with Lord Spencer while he was Lord President, and I have not ceased to keep the matter before my friend, Mr. Mundella, who is, I believe, thoroughly in earnest on the subject. Lord Emlyn has several times publicly questioned the Government, and I have done the same at least four times, the last being only a few days ago, when I elicited an important assurance from Mr. Gladstone. But very often the most suitable and effective services of this kind are the result of private communications.

Then it was alleged that the devotion of constituents was not adequately responded to by members, to which the complainant received this crushing reply:—

Many members can say, as the chief captain said to Paul, "with a great sum obtained I this" privilege, and with very considerable sums exacted of them week by week, and almost day by day, are they reminded of their privilege. They give up their time and labour by day and night to the service of their constituencies and country. They have to conduct an immense correspondence on public matters; to wade through a large amount of reading; to attend committees, deputations, and public meetings; to sit up often till all hours of the morning, to the sacrifice of health and comfort and domestic happiness; and they do all this without fee or reward, and are often exposed to great reproach and abuse from political opponents, and sometimes to much captious and cavilling comment from professed friends.

Some time previous to this correspondence there was widespread distress in South Wales, especially in the Merthyr district, owing to the stoppage of works, and Mr. Richard spared no pains to raise a fund—which eventually reached nearly £5,000—for the relief of the miners thrown out of employ, who were profoundly grateful for the timely help which he had been the means of securing. Mr. Richard himself repaired to the scene of

suffering, and with local assistance spent days in making himself familiar with the actual distress. His earnest appeals brought upon him a very large correspondence, and entailed upon him—such was his conscientious care—the duty of reply. Of letters as many as a hundred would come in a single day, and every contribution of more than a shilling was personally acknowledged, as were all, of whatever amount, in the newspapers.

The North Wales English Congregational Union, the object of which is to provide religious means for the thousands of Englishmen who migrate across the border, had for some years been in operation. It was organised with the munificent help of Mr. S. Morley, M.P., and the late Mr. R. S. Hudson, of Chester, and by the labour of the Rev. D. Burford Hooke, its energetic secretary. At the fifth annual meeting, held in 1882 at Wrexham, there was a large attendance of ministers and delegates. The business proceedings were followed by a public luncheon, Mr. Osborne Morgan, who was now a member of the Government, presiding; and both the Chairman, Sir Robert Cunliffe, and Mr. Richard, spoke almost exclusively on the late report of the Intermediate Education Committee, and the prospects of the Bill on the subject which Mr. Mundella, the Vice-President of the Council, was to introduce. It was not a bright outlook, for, as Mr. Morgan said, the House of Commons was reduced to the condition of a galley-slave, chained hand and foot by its own rules, and a great number of members had, it might appear, fallen in love with those chains.

This was a mild way of indicating that the systematic obstruction of the Irish Nationalists and the Fourth Party had made it almost impossible to pass beneficent measures in Parliament, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's great majority in the House of Commons. The adoption of the new Rules of Procedure was obstinately resisted by these allies, and the Conservatives generally joined them in resisting the closure in an effectual form, which they have since so quietly accepted. But the Government was more seriously paralysed by the condition of Ireland. Most of the evils predicted as the result of the throwing out of the Compensation for Disturbances (Ireland) Bill were realised. There were numerous evictions, and, as a consequence, terrible outrages in Ireland, which were aggravated by the general agricultural distress. The Land League was suppressed, Mr. Parnell and other Irish leaders imprisoned by Mr. Forster as "suspects," and the gaols filled with the rank and file of Home Rulers, without any other tangible result than the revival of secret societies. Some hopeful negotiations with Mr. Parnell led to the resignation of Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster, who were succeeded by Lord Spencer, as Irish Viceroy, and Lord Frederick Cavendish, as Chief Secretary. Then followed the terrible assassination of Lord Frederick and Mr. Burke by the "Invincibles" in Phœnix Park, a new Coercion Bill, succeeded by an Arrears Bill; the one opposed by the Parnellites, the other by the Conservatives in both Houses. Although strongly objecting on principle to a policy of coercion, Mr.

Richard reluctantly acquiesced in the demand made by the Government for increased powers for the preservation of order, especially, as he told his constituents, when made by such revered statesmen and traditional friends of Ireland as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. The Irish crisis suspended for a time all domestic reforms, including the much-delayed measures for improving secondary education in the Principality.

In 1882 the Egyptian complication reached its acute stage, and caused Mr. Richard hardly less anxiety than the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–8. It had its origin in the setting up of the Dual Control of France and England over Egyptian finance, in the interests of foreign bondholders, by Lord Beaconsfield's Government. The deposition of Ismail Pasha increased the power, and the jealousies also, of the Controllers, who only agreed to fasten as many French and English officials as possible upon the revenue of the country. Arabi Pasha headed the native party, whose motto was "Egypt for the Egyptians;" his influence became paramount, and in due time he became master of the army, and virtually raised the standard of independence. France, as well as England, sent a fleet to Alexandria, but M. de Freycinet, who had succeeded M. Gambetta as French Premier, decided on non-intervention, on a hint, it is said, from Berlin. When our Government resolved on active measures, Mr. Bright resigned office. The forts of Alexandria were bombarded by the British Fleet under Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and a state of war ensued which ended in the overthrow of Arabi at

Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolseley, the return of the Khedive (Tewfik Pasha) to Cairo, and an understanding among the Powers that England should occupy Egypt till her native rulers could dispense with foreign aid. The Dual Control was finally got rid of, at a cost to this country of about five millions sterling. There were great differences of opinion as to the equity of our Egyptian policy, and vehement denunciations by political opponents of Mr. Gladstone's inconsistency, but the public generally were dazzled with the victories of General Wolseley, and complacent at the thought of British supremacy in Egypt.

The Peace Society did not, however, fail to make its voice heard during the Egyptian crisis. In June, 1882, before the outbreak of hostilities, a strong protest against armed intervention, signed by the President and Secretary, was sent forth and obtained wide publicity, and when Alexandria was bombarded, the act was denounced as not only a violation of principle, but as utterly unjustifiable on those grounds of justice, necessity, and policy, which are assumed to be the guides of prudent statesmen. The whole subject was dealt with by Mr. Richard in July, when the vote of money to carry on the campaign in Egypt was submitted to the House of Commons. In an elaborate speech, and with the aid of official data, he told the story of the Egyptian crisis, and expressed his deep regret and surprise that statesmen whom he so greatly venerated as Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville should have been led into this miserable imbroglio. By refusing to vote what he

regarded as "blood-money," he desired to put on record his practical protest against proceedings which were alike impolitic, immoral, and full of perilous responsibilities. As is usual on such occasions, the minority against the vote was small.

A visit to Aix-les-Bains and Geneva, extending over six weeks, followed the Parliamentary session of 1882. Both Mr. and Mrs. Richard found the change necessary to recruit their health, and the baths of Aix were beneficial though the weather was very variable. The most important entry in Mr. Richard's diary at this date relates to the death of his sister, Mary, who had been long ailing. The sad news had been telegraphed to Vevey, but he left that place just before it arrived. It was, therefore, impossible for him to reach Rhydlewis, in Cardiganshire, in time to pay the last tribute of sorrow and affection to Mrs. Morris, to whom, and to Mrs. Evans, a younger sister living near her, he was much attached.

The year 1883 was in many ways eventful to Mr. Richard. In January he was present at a conference in the Town Hall, Chester, to consider the best means to be adopted relative to the grant of £4,000 a year for a college in North Wales; the first time, as Lord Aberdare, the Chairman, said, that the Imperial Parliament had consented to treat Wales as having a separate existence. The meeting, which had been organised by Mr. T. Marchant Williams, was very influentially attended. Besides delegates from all the towns interested, there were present the Duke of Westminster, the Bishop and

Dean of Bangor, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and other beneficed clergymen, the heads of scholastic institutions, and about a dozen members of Parliament. Mr. Richard was called upon to move the first resolution approving of a University College for North Wales, which was seconded by the Bishop of Bangor. An amendment, proposed by Major Cornwallis West and seconded by Mr. Darbishire, that there should be no decision as to the application of the Government grant till the Bill dealing with intermediate education had been laid before Parliament, was rejected by a very large majority, and a subsequent resolution, limiting the site to one of the six northern counties, virtually excluded Aberystwith. An influential committee was formed to select a site, and with something like unanimity Bangor was fixed upon. The choice was justified by the result. Some £37,000 was subscribed to start University College, Bangor, and eventually Aberystwith obtained a Parliamentary grant of £4,000 also, and has taken a new lease of prosperity.

In the autumn of the same year (Oct. 24) the temporary premises for the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire were opened with much ceremony at Cardiff, the keen competition between that town and Swansea having been decided in favour of the former. Lord Aberdare delivered the inaugural address, in which he took a general survey of the progress of higher education in Wales. He adverted to the fact that as Protestants and Catholics, Churchmen and Nonconformists, had fraternally combined to found the

institution, they had been obliged, in common with the North Wales College, to exclude religious teaching from their curriculum. At the subsequent luncheon, to which more than a thousand persons sat down, Lord Aberdare presided, and was followed by Lord Carlingford, the new President of the Council, Mr. Richard, the Dean of Llandaff, Dr. Rees, Professor Rhys of Oxford, Mr. Viramu Jones (the Principal of the College), and others. Lord Aberdare was elected President of the new College, and Mr. Richard, Vice-President. The senior member for Merthyr made a telling speech, in the course of which he expressed a hope that they would now lay aside all jealousies, local, sectarian, and national, to unite harmoniously in developing to the utmost the South Wales College, and to those Welsh friends who seemed to object to Englishmen taking part in the enterprise, he would say, "I am not afraid of the Saxons." He was willing to fight them, not as of old with swords and spears, but in the spirit of the Welsh inscription over their college, "The best weapon is the weapon of learning." They would, he playfully said, meet these Saxons with this weapon, and would beat them.*

* It is worthy of note that shortly after, an unpleasant religious difficulty arose in connection with this College. At a special meeting of the Council, the Dean of Llandaff moved a resolution for the dismissal of the Professor of Mathematics on the ground that he was a member of the National Secular Society. It was explained that the Professor's duties as examiner were limited to purely scientific subjects, and that he had disavowed all sympathy with the social aspects of the Bradlaugh movement. Lord Aberdare, who presided, read a letter from Mr. Richard protesting against any action being taken, as it would be a violation of their constitution. If they departed from that, objection might next be raised to a Roman

In one of his speeches at the annual meeting of the Dissenting Deputies, Mr. Richard said that Mr. Gladstone had very kindly permitted him freely to plead on behalf of his brother Nonconformists in connection with official appointments, and that this matter had been urged upon the preceding Liberal Government, as well as the present administration, especially in relation to the Endowed School and Charity Commissions, with which Dissenters had important practical relations. Mr. Richard, who never had any idea of seeking anything for himself, had two years previously presented a memorial to Mr. Gladstone from "a very respectable body of Nonconformists," at their request, asking that the claims of gentlemen outside the Established Church to a more liberal recognition in the official and administrative life of the country might be considered, to which he received a reply that the Premier would regard it as an advantage if he should be able to introduce a Nonconformist into an office in connection with the Endowed Schools Commission if a vacancy should occur.

Prior to the receipt of this letter the member for Merthyr had, apart from the specific suggestions of the memorial, explained his own views to Mr. Gladstone more at length. The following extract from his letter is worthy of quotation :—

I still hold to my general position that the Nonconformists have not a share in the administration of the country at all proportionate

Catholic, a Jew, or a Unitarian, and they might be landed in endless sectarian conflicts. Lord Aberdare entirely concurred in this view—the opinion of one whom all Wales recognised as a devout Christian. After much discussion, the "previous question" was carried by 13 to 8 votes.

to their number, or the important place they hold in the Liberal party. There was a time, no doubt, when, owing to their long exclusion from the Universities, and the prejudice—well or ill founded—in favour of University men as most competent for public posts, the number of Nonconformists qualified for such positions may be held to have been very limited. But there are now many scores—I may say hundreds—of men who have had a thorough University education, and who have even distinguished themselves greatly, as is indicated by the fact that in twenty-two years there have been fourteen Nonconformist Senior Wranglers at Cambridge. I don't say that there is any studied exclusion of Nonconformists, but by connection and habits of life they have been out of the running. There have been so few of them within the temple of office, that they would not help to open the gates to others, and so they have been simply forgotten and left out in the cold. And when we poor Nonconformist M.P.'s have tried to help them, we have always found that there have been other and more powerful influences at work to balk our endeavours. I do not refer to this merely on a matter of what I may call legitimate ambition on our part. But we are constantly made to feel that practically we are at a great disadvantage, by want of a fair number of representatives among the official class. I am sure with your usual generosity you will forgive the freedom with which I plead the claims of my fellow religionists.

When it became necessary to appoint two additional Charity Commissioners under the new Act, Mr. Richard ventured to suggest the names of some suitable candidates. Among them Mr. Anstie was selected as a Commissioner, at which Mr. Richard, in a letter to the Premier, expressed his great gratification. Subsequent experience has abundantly justified this choice.

During the session of 1883 Mr. Richard again brought in his Cemeteries Bill, and on the second reading (April 26), Sir William Harcourt (the Home Secretary) accepted it in principle, as did several Conservative

speakers. Mr. Beresford Hope, "the stormy petrel of ecclesiastical politics," moved its rejection, and was supported in a prolix and rambling speech by Mr. O'Donnell, who proposed an adjournment of the debate. This was rejected by 150 to 121 votes, and the Bill was talked out. In subsequently referring to this incident at a public meeting, Mr. Richard spoke of the great help he received on all occasions from Mr. Alfred Illingworth, "whose presence in the House of Commons is an unspeakable strength and comfort to me." The measure was again introduced by Mr. Richard in 1884, and consumed the whole of a Wednesday's sitting in June. The Opposition mustered more strongly, and the second reading was carried by the moderate majority of 22; the Irish members either absenting themselves or voting against the measure. The Bill made no further progress that session.

The course of events in the Soudan absorbed public attention during 1884. That territory was nominally subject to Egypt, but the standard of revolt was raised in the southern provinces by the Mahdi, whose army cut to pieces the force of Hicks Pasha sent by the government of the Khedive to suppress the revolt. The British Cabinet was in sore perplexity, but eventually decided that the Soudan must be abandoned by Egypt, after the several garrisons had been rescued. General Gordon was, at the call of the public, sent out to Khartoum—a romantic man on a romantic mission. As was foreseen, there was before long clamour for the rescue of this devoted officer from the perils that surrounded him, which the

Government could not resist. Sir Garnet Wolseley, with a large British force, ascended the Nile, but reached the neighbourhood of Khartoum too late to save General Gordon, and the expedition was eventually withdrawn. While the campaign in the Soudan was proceeding, the Opposition again and again assailed the policy of Mr. Gladstone, moving resolutions of censure and losing no chance of harassing the Government. The Peace Society also opposed the expedition to rescue Gordon, and subsequently objected to further aggressive measures against the Soudanese. Its Secretary also took part occasionally in the debates in the Commons on the subject, and on one memorable Saturday, when the Tories sprang upon the House a resolution of censure, he spoke in its favour and voted with them by way of protest against the unsatisfactory policy of the Government. For this action, which seems to have arisen from sheer disgust at the butcheries going on in the region near Souakim, Mr. Richard was a good deal condemned by Liberal friends, but he justified himself on the plea that he was taking a course consistent with his principles, and that the Opposition had come over to his side.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RESIGNATION AS SECRETARY OF PEACE SOCIETY—POLITICAL WORK IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT—GENERAL ELECTIONS AND MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

At the annual meeting of the Peace Society, in May, 1884, the President, Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., referred to the unauthorised reports in circulation that their Secretary was about to retire. This allusion having called forth some cordial expressions of feeling, Mr. Richard said that, owing to advancing years, he felt himself unequal to the activities of earlier days, and symptoms of declining health warned him that he must not put too much strain upon his strength. At the especial request of the Executive Committee, he had, however, consented to postpone his resignation. The symptoms referred to—a weakness of the heart—had become more apparent during the previous autumn, when Mr. Richard, with his wife, journeyed to Milan, where he attended the Annual Conference of the International Law Association.*

* On that occasion Mr. Richard was able to congratulate the Congress on the further progress of international arbitration—a method of composing differences rarely had recourse to up to 1870, since which time there had been no less than seven such references. He thought it also encouraging that the concert of Europe had subsequently been established, and referred to the Danubian Commission as showing the feasibility of the Great Powers working harmoniously together for important international objects. M. Mancini, at that time Minister of Justice in Italy, was unable to attend the Conference, but he sent a cordial reply to a message of thanks and congratulations forwarded to him. The members of

On leaving that Italian city, Mr. Richard, together with Mrs. Richard, spent some time at Varese, which greatly strengthened the health of the hon. member. Such holidays were to him a real luxury. His love of nature and of grand scenery was profound: mountains were to him an inspiration. Even on this occasion he insisted, against the advice of prudent friends, on ascending Monte Generosa, several thousand feet high, on foot, but he took his time in performing this exploit, and was happily none the worse for it.

The time arrived—all too soon—when Mr. Richard found himself unable adequately to discharge his duties as Secretary of the Peace Society. At the annual meeting of its members on May 19th, 1885, his last report was presented, and it was announced, amid many expressions of regret, that, owing to advancing years, and the increasing burden of Parliamentary and public life, he had resigned his office. He was at the same time requested to accept the position of honorary secretary in order that the Society might still be favoured with counsel and help from its experienced friend. Mr. William Jones, who had been for some time Organising Secretary and Lecturer of the Society, was appointed his successor.* The Committee adopted

the Conference were received with much distinction by the Municipality, who gave them a sumptuous banquet, presided over by the Syndic, after which a resolution on the subject was moved by Judge Peabody, and seconded by Professor Leone Levi. One more of these Conferences was attended by Mr. Richard. It was held in the Guildhall, London, Sir Travers Twiss presiding, when the hon. member read a paper on "The Progress of International Arbitration."

* It may here be stated that Mr. Jones, who had to go to Australia on

a minute in reference to Mr. Richard's resignation, in which they say:—

Their regret is intensified as they look back over the history of the Society, and recall the extent to which its progress has been influenced by Mr. Richard's indomitable patience, his resolute will, his political sagacity, and his intellectual power. But their gratitude is heightened, in equal degree, when it is remembered that during his occupancy of office, and in large measure owing to his fearless and eloquent advocacy, by pen and speech, the Society has surmounted the antagonism by which it was formerly confronted, and has gained a continually growing influence upon the national mind. Neither daunted by contumely, nor discouraged by apathy where there should have been support, nor deterred by adverse criticism, Mr. Richard, by "labours more abundant," and with zeal that never flagged, has urged the adoption of international arbitration, and the mutual reduction of armaments by European Powers, non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, and the promotion of the holy cause of peace.

The minute refers in detail to the several occasions on which Mr. Richard has been able to do good service in and out of Parliament to the cause of Peace, special mention being made of the recent agreement between Russia and England to resort to arbitration for the adjustment of the Russo-Afghan dispute, in harmony with the Paris Protocol of 1856; and in conclusion, the Committee congratulate him upon the distinguished position he has taken in the Legislature of the country. At the public meeting which followed, presided over by Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Richard, after giving the substance of the report, made some reference to his retirement:—

account of his health, also retired, and early in 1889, Mr. W. Evans Darby was chosen as Secretary.

He was seventy-three years of age, and although he was thankful that his bodily and mental powers were not more impaired than they were, yet he felt that he was not what he had been—that there were signs of declining power, and sometimes a failing of health, which warned him that he must not subject himself to the same strain that he had been accustomed to, and must husband the little strength that remained. He had survived four Presidents of the Society—Mr. Charles Hindley, Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Joseph Pease, and Mr. Henry Pease, for their friend in the chair was the third of his honourable name who had filled that office. He was not tired of the work nor was he discouraged. If God spared him, he hoped, even yet, to be of some service in connection with the cause. He trusted there were young men who would come forward in order to take from his failing hand the flag of peace, and hold it up with a resolute arm. "You are," he said in conclusion, "advocating a cause which, in my innermost conviction, I believe to be the cause of truth, reason, justice, and humanity, the cause of religion, and, I will venture to say, the cause of God."

It was only natural that there should be some substantial acknowledgment of the life-long work of a public man whose services were as disinterested as they were conspicuous, and no time could be more fitting for such a testimonial. Early in July, 1884, there appeared a modest paragraph in the daily press stating that a short time before, the subscribers had been invited to a breakfast at the London residence of Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., when Mr. Richard was presented with a cheque for 4,000 guineas, as a mark of their appreciation of his arduous labours and eminent services in the cause of Peace. The chief promoters of this gratifying presentation were the President of the Peace Society, Mr. S. Morley, M.P., and Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P., who were able to secure the sum named

privately, and without any appeal to the public. If it had been thought desirable to throw open the subscription, there can be no doubt that many other friends would have felt pleasure in increasing the fund as an expression of their great obligations to the veteran champion of peace, religious equality, and popular education.*

Mr. Richard's hope that he might yet be able to render some service to the cause he had at heart was realised. For the three succeeding years he never flagged in the discharge of the public duties that lay in his way. But in relation to the Peace question he confessed, at an influential conference held at Darlington, that his hope of an abatement of the war system lay rather in popular opinion than in the policy of Cabinets —which seemed bound hand and foot to the rampant militarism which now pervaded Europe—or the decisions of Parliament, until the Legislature had become a more faithful echo of the people's voice.

In March, 1886, however, Mr. Richard was greatly encouraged by his appeal to the House of Commons, when he submitted as an amendment to going into Committee of Supply a resolution declaring that war should not

* Among the subscribers, in addition to those already mentioned, were Mr. J. G. Barclay, Mrs. Henry Pease, Mr. G. Palmer, M.P., Mr. Peckover, Mr. Tangye, Mr. Horniman, Mr. Hugh Mason, Mr. Arthur Pease, Mr. Thomasson, Sir W. Lawson, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Mr. Richard Davies, M.P., Mr. John Roberts, M.P., Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., Mr. Isaac Holden, M.P., Mr. David Davis, M.P., Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., Mr. John Cory, Sir F. T. Mappin, M.P., Mr. Joseph Cowen, Right Hon. W. E. Baxter, Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. W. Fowler, Mr. Arnold Morley, M.P., Mr. John Barran, M.P., Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., and Sir W. McArthur, M.P.

be commenced, treaties made, nor territories annexed, without the consent of Parliament—a motion which was substantially the same as he moved in 1881. He spoke with a good deal of vigour and with abundant illustrations. Lord Randolph Churchill, at that time in his most aggressive mood, indulged in a gratuitous attack on the veteran member, and Mr. Gladstone, though sympathetic and complimentary, was unable to see how a general rule could be laid down, but he did see "here and elsewhere the sense of the people much less favourable now, on various occasions, to war than it used to be." The Member for Merthyr persisted in dividing, and on the motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, he had a majority of four; a result much applauded below the gangway. But when his resolution became a substantive motion, it was rejected by a majority of six (115 to 109).

The uppermost question of public interest in 1884—5 was Parliamentary Reform. The Lords had thrown out the County Franchise Bill, which was to add two millions to the electoral roll, on the plea that it was not accompanied by a redistribution scheme. Great was the popular excitement. Monster meetings were held to denounce the action of that assembly; an unprecedented procession marched from the Thames Embankment to Hyde Park; and an Autumn Session was convened, at which a largely increased majority carried the Bill in the Commons. After much negotiation a draft plan for the redistribution of seats on a very extensive scale was arranged by the heads of both

parties, and substantially accepted by both Houses of Parliament in the ensuing Session of 1885. Meanwhile, the intimation that some of the provisions of the Irish Crimes Act would be renewed by the Government threw the Parnellites into the arms of the Tories, and in June the new coalition defeated the Gladstone administration on a detail of Mr. Childers's Budget by 264 to 252 votes, and Lord Salisbury came into power.* The Session was speedily wound up, and the General Election took place in November—both parties bidding high for the Irish vote—with the result that 333 Liberals, 251 Tories, and 86 Irish Nationalists, were returned. Mr. Gladstone had issued his celebrated Midlothian programme, and his decided inclinations towards Home Rule delighted the Nationalists. Once more, for the fourth time, Mr. Richard met his constituents at Merthyr, after seventeen years' service; and in his address he referred to the unanimous invitation of the Liberal Association to stand again, which he somewhat hesitated to accept, "founded on considerations of age and health." Both himself and his faithful colleague, Mr. James, were returned without a contest,† and with his customary generosity, though at no little cost to himself, Mr. Richard gave valuable help to Mr. Dillwyn, whose seat at Swansea was threatened, to Mr. Yeo in the Gower Division, and to Mr. A. J. Williams, the Liberal candidate for Bridgend. Since the

* On his retirement from office on this occasion the Queen offered Mr. Gladstone an Earldom, which he respectfully declined.

† Mr. James subsequent to the election of 1886 retired owing to impaired health, and Mr. David Thomas was elected his successor without a contest.

preceding election his steadfast friend, Mr. David Davies, of Maesyffynon, Aberdare, who had been his influential supporter throughout, had gone to his rest; but Mr. Richard still had the valuable assistance of Mr. Thomas Williams, J.P., Chairman of the Liberal Association, who was among the first electors to invite him to Merthyr. The Welsh constituencies remained true to Mr. Gladstone, and out of thirty-four members (including Monmouthshire) thirty were Liberals, and all but one of these in favour of Disestablishment.

Indeed, ecclesiastical questions, or rather the state-church question, played a prominent part in this election. The republication of "Suggestions on Disestablishment" by the Liberation Society in the autumn, and what was called "The Unauthorised Programme" embodying them, had thoroughly aroused the clergy, and from several hundreds of pulpits the cry of "The Church in Danger" was raised, while the *Record* made the disquieting discovery that some four hundred candidates were, more or less, pledged to disestablishment. Added to this was the fact that Mr. Carvell Williams, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Liberation Society, was triumphantly returned for one of the Nottingham divisions. That gentleman was now able to render with more effect inside the House of Commons the service to the cause of religious equality he had for many previous years given in the lobby. Mr. Richard was rejoiced at the election of so valuable a coadjutor, whose energy and experience had often been at his service, and for whom he entertained a

cordial regard. On more than one occasion he publicly expressed his great obligations to Mr. Williams for his invaluable help. Subsequently, at the request of Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., the two members jointly wrote for the "Imperial Parliament Series," a small work on "Disestablishment;" of which the late Mr. Bright, in a letter to Mr. Richard, said :—

"It is a remarkable book, so small in compass and so readable, and yet dealing with the whole of the great question on which it treats. Your little book is admirable alike in regard to facts and arguments. I have read nothing on the Church Question so complete, and so calculated to influence public opinion in a right direction."

In 1883, Mr. Richard, who, as we have seen, had been for several years tacitly accepted as the chief representative in Parliament of English Nonconformists, at the request of the Liberation Society, tabled a resolution in the House of Commons in favour of the disestablishment of the Church of England; but for session after session he was unable to secure an evening for its consideration, and it finally gave way to questions of more immediate pressing interest. His failure to make any progress with the Cemeteries Bill was also due mainly to the same cause.

Before Parliament met in January, 1886, Mr. Gladstone had caused it indirectly to be made known that he was in favour of giving Home Rule to Ireland, and while the Conservative Government, which had declined to accept Lord Carnarvon's bargain with Mr. Parnell, announced an Irish Coercion Bill, which would involve

the suppression of the National League, the leader of the Opposition made overtures to the Irish party, which were warmly welcomed. Shortly after Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined their forces in support of Mr. Jesse Collings' amendment to the Address censuring the Government for refusing to bring in a Labourers' Allotments Bill, which was carried against the Ministry by 329 to 258. Lord Salisbury having resigned, Mr. Gladstone was commissioned to form a new administration, in which Lord Rosebery became Foreign Minister, and Mr. John Morley Chief Secretary for Ireland, under Lord Aberdeen as Viceroy. But moderate Liberals like Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Lord Northbrook, and Mr. Forster, frightened at the Home Rule spectre, declined to accept office. Not long after Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, when fully acquainted with the Premier's proposals, followed suit. Early in June Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was rejected by a majority of thirty—Liberal Unionists and Tories coalescing—a result which would perhaps have been averted if concessions, since agreed to, had been then accepted. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country, with the result that his adherents were reduced to less than two hundred, and Lord Salisbury returned to power backed by a phalanx of some seventy Liberal seceders as well as his own followers. Once more Mr. Richard was returned unopposed for Merthyr, and his colleague, Mr. C. H. James, with him. He had previously written to Mr. Thomas Williams a very pathetic letter, in which he placed his resignation, as member for Merthyr, in his

hands. That letter Mr. Williams declined to make public, and an interview of an hour's duration took place between them in the House of Commons. At length Mr. Richard yielded to the plea to "die in harness as senior member for Merthyr." In his address to the electors, he cordially accepted the principle of Home Rule, and in the main the scheme of the ex-Premier, as the alternative of coercion, while he stated that he would not overlook measures necessary "to promote the freedom and prosperity of the old land of our fathers." "Come what may," said the hon. member, "I shall stand by the Grand Old Man," for whom, as he remarked on another occasion, his reverence bordered on idolatry. The great majority of the Welsh constituencies followed the lead of Merthyr. It was found that out of thirty-four members returned for Wales and Monmouthshire, twenty-eight were Gladstonian Liberals.

When Lord Salisbury resumed office, Lord Iddesleigh, who had been, as it were, driven out of the Commons, became Foreign Secretary. Lord Randolph Churchill was installed as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House, though before six months were over he retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Goschen as Finance Minister, and by Mr. W. H. Smith as leader of the Commons. The broken Session was only remarkable for the discussion and rejection of Mr. Parnell's Bill for the relief of Irish tenants, which the great fall in prices was declared to have made necessary. Mr. Richard was sparing in his attendance at the House, having a great

accession of important work elsewhere, and his impaired health obliged him as much as possible to avoid the night sittings. When towards the end of January next year Mr. Mundella distributed the prizes at the South Wales University College, Cardiff, the senior member for Merthyr reluctantly begged to be excused attending, being, as he said, under strict medical interdict in reference to long journeys and public meetings. The affection of the heart greatly increased, and Mrs. Richard felt it necessary assiduously to watch over her husband and to accompany him, as far as possible, everywhere out of doors. The Session of 1887 was an exciting one, the Coercion Bill of Mr. A. J. Balfour, who succeeded Sir M. Hicks-Beach as Irish Secretary, and the subsequent Irish Land Bill, giving rise to important debates. Mr. Richard rarely attended them, but was always in his place at critical divisions—often at no little risk to himself. In February of that year, when Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir W. Harcourt, and Sir Hussey Vivian had strongly protested against setting aside the motion of the member for Swansea in favour of Welsh disestablishment, Mr. Richard was induced not only to support them in a very determined speech, but to move that the evening Mr. Dillwyn had secured (February 22nd) should not be appropriated for Government business. On a division the amendment was rejected by a majority of 103; the official Liberals supporting it, and nearly all the Radical Unionists voting with the Conservatives. A month later Mr. Richard, his health being somewhat improved,

was induced to take the chair at a great meeting of Welshmen in London in support of the protest of their representatives in Parliament.*

To the end of his career Mr. Richard never forgot his responsibilities as "the member for Wales," though that popular impression of his political status brought upon him a host of applications of all kinds, mostly uncalled for, which were sorely trying to so conscientious a man. He kept steadily in view the solution of the problem of Welsh intermediate education, and if little progress was made it was not because he failed to approach the President and Vice-President of Council. He acted as chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of Welsh Members, and was able in his later days to secure for the Welsh language a recognised place in the day schools of the Principality. As recently as May, 1886, he seconded Mr. Dillwyn's resolution in favour of Welsh disestablishment in a weighty and judicious speech, the only fault of which was that it was somewhat too historical. Time was when less than fifty members were found to support a similar proposal. On this occasion

* These protests were not useless. No attempt was made in May, 1889, to deprive Mr. Dillwyn of the precedence he had secured. His resolution was rejected by a majority of fifty-three (284 to 231 votes). Lord Hartington and other Liberal Unionists swelled the majority, though Mr. Chamberlain and about ten of the Radical Unionists voted in its favour. In the course of his speech in seconding the motion, Mr. Osborne Morgan paid a feeling tribute to the memory of Mr. Richard. Mr. Gladstone was absent all the evening, but subsequently, while on his Western tour, he announced that the conditions he had formerly laid down having been fulfilled, he should in future record his vote for Welsh disestablishment. Twenty-seven members of his last Government voted with Mr. Dillwyn in 1889.

Mr. Dillwyn had 229 supporters, and was defeated by a majority of only twelve. "Mr. Henry Richard," says Mr. Thomas E. Ellis, M.P.—himself one of the ablest representatives of "young Wales"—"was the first real exponent in the House of Commons of the puritan and progressive life of Wales, and he expounded the principles which Nonconformity has breathed into the very life and heart of the Welsh people." As his capacity for service declined he was able to see his aspirations in relation to political and ecclesiastical questions more completely embodied in a concrete form by a staunch and numerous band of Welsh members, several of them young and energetic, who revered him as a leader and spokesman, if they did not always concur in the policy which his experience suggested; and by a North and South Wales Liberal Federation, which has more than once made its influence felt, and ought to be equal to any forward enterprise that occasion may demand.* Welshmen who know what a national Eisteddfod is will understand how severe an ordeal their venerable fellow-countryman went through a year before his life-work was completed, and which he anticipated with some apprehension, when he presided over one of the great gatherings at the Albert Hall, and gave an address on the merits and specialities of his native language.

* Mr. Richard would not have been displeased, had circumstances been favourable, if Welsh disestablishment had been kept somewhat in the background till the question of intermediate education had been finally settled in Parliament. But he never gave active effect to this preference. Generally speaking, he sought in his later years to exercise a guiding and moderating influence over those who represented the Principality.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROYAL EDUCATION COMMISSION—HIS LAST DAYS, DEATH AND FUNERAL—OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEN ON HIS LIFE AND SERVICES—CONCLUSION.

ONE of the most important of Mr. Richard's public services was also his latest, having been rendered by him as a septuagenarian, who might fairly have claimed exemption from such arduous duties. At the close of 1885, during the short Ministry of Lord Salisbury, he was invited to become a member of the Royal Commission to inquire into the state of education in England and Wales.* The proposal was originated by Lord Cross, who did not hesitate to avow that his main object was to place the denominational (or "voluntary") schools in the same position in respect to public aid as Board Schools. There was the more need, therefore, that those who were strongly in favour of national and unsectarian education should be well represented in this important inquiry. Mr. Richard took counsel of Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, who had also been invited to serve on the Commission, and in a letter dated December 25th, 1885, after expressing his great gratification at that fact, he says :—

I have delayed answering partly because I am getting to be an old man, and rather shrink from further labour and responsibility.

* It is a noticeable coincidence that Mr. Miall, who, like his friend, was originally a Congregational Minister, and became an M.P., also served on an Education Commission (the Duke of Newcastle's) in 1858.

Still I think I should get over that, and be disposed to render such imperfect services as I can to the work. But I am suspicious as to the composition and object of the Commission, and fear to be caught in a snare. The very extremest men on the side opposite to ours are upon it—Canon Gregory, Cardinal Manning, Dr. Rigg, who is, I fear, as bad as either of them, and others of the same stamp—and I want some assurance that the Nonconformists, or those understanding and sympathising with their principles on education, should be fairly represented on the Commission. Your presence I should feel indeed to be a tower of strength. But we want somebody who is conversant with all the details of the Bills and Codes and modes of operation, for we should have to deal with very subtle adversaries, who are well up in all those points on which I am at present very imperfectly informed.

Since I began this letter I have written to Lord Cranbrook, as I felt I could no longer withhold an answer. While acknowledging some apprehensions as to my ability to do justice to such important work, I have placed myself at his disposal, with this reservation—or perhaps, I should say, suggestion—that Nonconformists, if they are to sit on the Commission at all, should be such in numbers and character as to be fairly representative. I have mentioned to him the names of Illingworth and Lyulph Stanley, who, though not a Nonconformist, shares their views, and is, moreover, more perfectly master of our whole educational system than perhaps any man outside the Educational Department. If I go on the Commission I must find some means of conferring fully with you. Meanwhile I am going to read again and to *study* your articles in the *Nineteenth Century*, which I thought at the time of their appearance were admirable.

The Commission was constituted in January, 1886. It consisted of twenty-three members, with Lord Cross as chairman, and besides those mentioned above, comprised the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Harrowby, Lord Norton, Lord Beauchamp, the Bishop of London, Sir F. R. Sandford, Archdeacon Smith, Mr. Talbot, M.P., Rev. T. D. Morse, Mr. Alderson, Charity

Commissioner, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Bernard Samuelson, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. S. G. Rathbone, Mr. Heller, representing the Teachers' Union, Mr. George Shipton, representing the London Trades Union, and Mr. Mundella, M.P., who, being appointed Vice-President of Council when Mr. Gladstone returned to power in February, 1886, was succeeded by the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley. Of the whole number, fifteen out of the twenty-three were known to be hostile to placing education under popular control, the other eight being Liberals or Nonconformists. The Commission sat for nearly two years and a half, and examined a vast number of witnesses, consisting of officials of the Department, heads of schools, clergymen, experienced teachers, etc. About one hundred and ten of the witnesses were connected with the Established Church or denominational education, and about forty not.

While the inquiry was proceeding, Dr. Dale was obliged to carry out a long-standing engagement to represent English Congregationalists at the Jubilee of South Australian Congregationalism during the autumn of 1887. Not the less did Mr. Richard deplore its necessity. In a farewell letter written in July, 1887, the hon. member, after dwelling upon the importance of Dr. Dale's mission, expresses a fervent hope that he would be able to return before the final report of the Commission was presented. "I am," he says, "the more urgent, as I am conscious of my own failing power to do adequate service to the cause of unsectarian education. The trouble with which I

am afflicted grows from day to day, and disables me more and more from much effort." Though some of his colleagues hoped that there might be a neutral Report, what he had seen during the last eighteen months did not enable him to share that sanguine view, and the help of "such a champion" as Dr. Dale could not be spared. But he had to thank the Commission for having brought him into nearer contact with his colleague. During his absence Mr. Richard felt the immense advantage of being able to rely upon the co-operation and practised skill of Mr. Stanley, who eventually drafted the larger part of the Minority Report. Dr. Dale returned from Australia in January, 1888, while the Report was still under consideration, and was able to take a very active part in the discussions of the Commissioners, which appear to have extended over fifty-one days. The inquiry came to an end in June, 1888. The Majority Report was signed by fifteen members of the Commission, and the Minority Report by eight.*

* It would be impossible in these pages to give even the substance of the two Reports, but it may be a convenience to the reader to indicate their general drift:—

That of the majority aimed at protecting the interests of the voluntary schools, and while it proposed many educational improvements it coupled those recommendations with demands for increased public support. The attitude of the majority was summed up by the minority, as follows:—"In recording our dissent from so many of the conclusions of our colleagues' report, we would add that we have further this general objection, that their report appears to us too often to approach proposals for the improvement of education from the point of view of considering how such improvements may affect the interests of certain classes of schools rather than how far they are desirable, and that it does not do justice to the wish that we entertain for an expansion of education, a widening of its aims and its

Mr. Richard was very punctual in attendance at the sittings of the Commission, feeling the importance of using his utmost influence in helping to mould the establishment on a broad base of local support and popular management, which would enable us to dispense with much in the present system of state aid and examination, which we think unfavourable to the best modes of imparting knowledge." (Final report of the Commission, p. 247.) The principal views of the minority are expressed in the above passage and in the following:—"We think it essential, while recognising the continued existence of voluntary schools, that there should everywhere be an educational authority, able at once to meet a deficiency and provide schools, whereas at present, in the absence of a School Board, delays are repeatedly interposed before the Education Department finally orders the election of a board and the provision of necessary accommodation" (p. 247); and on page 241 they say, "In the country, where there can generally be but one school for the compulsory attendance of all, whatever their religious belief, it is a serious disadvantage that the control of the school should be in the hands of one religious body, and that the community generally should be excluded from a voice in the selection of the teacher, and the management of the school, and we shall be greatly disappointed if, among the changes imminent in local government, provision is not made to remedy this state of things." Further, in reference to the best mode of securing efficient instruction, the minority say, on page 249, "We are of opinion that the best security for efficient teaching is the organisation of our school system under local representative authorities over sufficiently extensive areas, with full power of management and responsibility for maintenance, with well graduated curricula, a liberal staff of well-trained teachers, and buildings sanitary, suitable, and well equipped with school requisites. That it should be the duty of the State to secure that all these conditions are fulfilled, and to aid local effort to a considerable extent, but leaving a substantial proportion of the cost of school management to be met from local resources other than fees of scholars, and by its inspection to secure that the local authority is doing its duty satisfactorily." These extracts show that the minority, while submitting to the continuance of our mixed system, thought it adverse to the progress of education, and looked to a large development of local popular control and management as the surest means of improving education. Mr. Richard's state of health prevented him from taking as active a part as he otherwise would have done in the drafting of the Minority Reports. One passage, however, we are informed was almost entirely his writing. It is the one on pages 359–60, in reference to the non-acceptance of the Act of 1870 as a final settlement by all parties. He was careful in the examination of witnesses to insist on the point that the official

final result. How this was done will, to some extent, appear from the following note which Dr. Dale has been kind enough to furnish :—

There was something pathetic in the quiet heroism with which Mr. Richard discharged his duties on the Education Commission. We often drove to the rooms of the Commission in Richmond Terrace together; and for very many months he never ascended the stairs without pausing to take the remedy which was intended to avert an attack of the disease that ultimately proved fatal to him. More than once, when the proceedings had taken the form of a regular debate and he rose to speak, it was apparent that he was suffering severe physical distress, and that even the slight excitement occasioned by addressing a short speech of five or ten minutes to a company of twenty gentlemen was perilous to him. He knew his danger, and occasionally spoke of it with deep emotion. But while he lived he was resolved to do all the work that lay within his strength. He sat on the Commission as the Political and Parliamentary leader of the Nonconformists, and as the representative of the educational interests of Wales. He felt the responsibility of his position. He made a very large number of attendances, and his attendances were effective, not nominal; he came early and stayed till the end, unless, as sometimes happened, imperative engagements obliged him to leave. He gave the closest attention to the evidence of the witnesses, and when the final Report was under discussion he was always vigilant and alert. He was invariably courteous, but inflexibly firm. When he had once reached a conclusion, it was not easy—I am not sure that it was possible—to move him from it. I think that I am betraying no confidence in saying that he wrote some of the sentences that seem to me most admirable in the Extended Minority Report.

Like the late Mr. Edward Miall, he always looked back with a certain measure of regret on the abandonment of the voluntary

teaching of religious dogma is no security for a religious spirit, and he brought into striking contrast, in his examination of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the elaborate securities for religious teaching in the Prussian schools with the singular indifference to religion which an experienced observer had described as characteristic of the population of Berlin.

system in education.* I am not sure that he was ever fully convinced that Government aid was necessary. He would at least have maintained that education, though it might have advanced more slowly, would probably have advanced more surely without educational grants. But if grants are given to schools, he was clear that the schools should be under public and representative managers, and that they should not attempt to teach religion.

The end was nearer at hand than Mr. Richard's friends had supposed, though some were apprehensive when they observed his increasing debility. A few days before starting on his last journey to Wales, he received a shock in the sudden death of his friend Dr. Lush, who suffered from the same complaint, and had, in consequence, in 1880, retired from Parliament. For a few hours he was silent and preoccupied. The tidings must have come to him like a voice telling him that for him also life's journey was nearly run. The following three days (though his wife was not aware of it until afterwards) were spent in arranging his papers and settling his private affairs. Mr. and Mrs. Richard were about to pay a visit to his old and deeply attached friend, Mr. Richard Davies, of Treborth, Lord Lieutenant of Anglesea, and formerly member for that division in Parliament. At that charming country seat he had spent many a happy day whenever the responsibilities of public life enabled him to enjoy its repose. The travellers left their London residence August the 9th, reaching Treborth without pain or discomfort on the

* Of course, I use the word "voluntary" in its old sense. The Denominationalists have usurped the name which belonged, both by right and usage, to their most uncompromising opponents. A "voluntary" school is properly a school which is neither assisted nor controlled by the State.

journey, and fatigue was soon forgotten in the warm greeting of dear friends.

Of his last days and hours Mr. Davies says :—

He was ever a welcome guest here, dear to old and young alike. It was evident that he suffered very frequently from spasms—at the heart this time—but he would be so bright and cheery at intervals, ready as ever to enjoy his drive, or to be a most interested spectator of the young people's games and fun. On the Saturday before his death he drove with us to Bettws-y-coed, by Ogwen and Capel Curig, and it is a mournful pleasure to us to remember how he delighted in the air and the scenery of that day.* We had a call from Dr. Owen Thomas on the Monday, the day of his death, and Mr. Richard thoroughly enjoyed the chat about the old ministers, his own father, Ebenezer Richard, among the number, and more than once during that evening he referred, with an expression of surprised admiration, to the vivid accuracy of Dr. Thomas's memory. He always liked to hear good Welsh preaching and hymn-singing. He was at Carnarvon Association with some of our party, when there was a burst of "gorfoledd" among the people under Dr. Thomas's sermon. He was deeply affected, and said to his wife on his return, "I am glad I went to-day to Carnarvon. I never thought I should see 'gorfoledd' again. I saw it many times in my childhood." †

There was a large family party at dinner on the evening of Monday the 20th. Mr. Richard, having somewhat recovered from the fatigue of the return journey, on the Saturday was in his usual cheerful mood; but towards eleven o'clock an attack of pain obliged him to retire. The usual remedy ceased to have

* Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., who was of the party, says that during this pleasant trip the conversation turning on age, Mr. Richard said, "People should not live too long." "We little thought what was so soon coming; but knowing how fully aware he was of his uncertain hold on life, I have felt since that the remark was a significant one, made as it was with cheerfulness and content."

† *Cymru Fydd* for October, 1888.

any effect, he rapidly grew worse, the spasms increased, and just before midnight, in the presence of his distracted wife and sympathising host and hostess, death terminated his sufferings.

Thus passed away from earth to his eternal rest the Welsh Christian patriot and the "Apostle of Peace." "Poor Mrs. Richard," says Mr. Davies, "in her bitter sorrow and desolation, feels thankful he was permitted to die in Wales, and at Treborth. She thinks he would have chosen it so, and this thought is a great comfort to us all." Nothing could exceed the kindness and active sympathy of Mr. and Mrs. Davies in this extremity. Of all the heavy, manifold responsibilities of the hour, the afflicted and helpless widow was entirely relieved. They sent telegrams wherever necessary, arranged for the funeral, and had the remains of their beloved friend conveyed to his London residence, 22, Bolton Gardens, South Kensington, to await interment. On the oak coffin was a burnished brass plate bearing the simple inscription :—

HENRY RICHARD.

Born April 3rd, 1812.

Died August 20th, 1888.

The funeral took place in Abney Park Cemetery on Friday, August 24th, when the deceased was laid, by his own request, in a grave near that of his old pastor and friend, Dr. Raleigh. After a brief service at the house, the procession left Bolton Gardens at about noon for Abney Park. In the procession, Mrs. Richard, with her

sister, Mrs. Bell, Rev. Henry Morris, and Miss Evans, the adopted daughter of the deceased, occupied the first carriage. In the second were Mrs. Fell (another sister), Miss Mary Evans, and Dr. Evans (relatives of the deceased); in the third were Mrs. J. Bishop and Miss Farley (sisters of Mrs. Richard), and Mr. R. Peter. In the fourth carriage were the Rev. Edward White, minister in charge of the Independent Church, Allen Street, Kensington (of which the deceased was a member), Dr. Harvey, and Mr. Robert Bishop. In the private carriages which followed were deputations from the deceased's constituency, the Congregational Union, and the Peace Society.

The wreaths sent by the friends and admirers of the deceased were very numerous. Among those who forwarded them were, besides members of the family circle, Lord Aberdare, Dr. and Mrs. Habershon, Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P. (who was too ill to be present), Mr. Isaac Holden, M.P., Sir John Simon, M.P., Mr. Potter, M.P., Mr. Woodall, M.P., Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., Mr. J. B. Roberts, M.P., Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. Richard Davies (of Treborth), Mrs. Lewis Davis (of Ferndale), Sir Frederick and the Misses Halliday, the Cardiff Branch of the Cymmrodorion Society, Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., and Mrs. Morgan, Mr. Caine, M.P., and Mrs. Caine, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., and Mrs. Colman, Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P., and Mrs. Rendel, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Davis, Mrs. Thomas (of Yesgyborwen, Aberdare, mother of the deceased's colleague), Mr. W. Davis, the sculptor, Miss Dilys Ll. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Goulston, the

Cymru Fydd, Mrs. Lewis Davies, and the Carnarvon Reform Club. The names of the friends in attendance at Abney Park Chapel are too numerous to be given. They comprised several M.P.'s, many of the old comrades of Mr. Richard—others being away from home at that period—and representatives of the Dissenting Deputies, the Congregational Union, the London Congregational Union, the English Congregational Chapel Building Society, the Liberation Society, Peace Society, British and Foreign School Society, English Congregational Union of North Wales, Aberystwith College, Brecon Memorial College, London Missionary Society, International Arbitration Association, the town of Merthyr, the National Eisteddfod Association, and several other Welsh associations. Owing to the suddenness of the event, or absence from home, many old Parliamentary and other friends were prevented from expressing their respect and sorrow by their presence.

The service was principally held in Abney Chapel, Church Road, Stoke Newington, and was conducted by Rev. Edward White and Rev. Dr. Dale. The chapel was well filled. The front pews were reserved for the family—Mrs. Richard and her sisters being present. The coffin, decorated with innumerable wreaths, rested in front of the pulpit. The passages of Scripture selected by Mr. White were very beautiful and appropriate. How fit indeed to be linked with the name of Henry Richard were the words, "For the end of that man is peace," "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace," and "They shall turn their spears

into ploughshares and their swords into pruning hooks." Equally suitable was Mr. White's prayer which followed. Then Dr. Dale delivered the address. It was fortunate that one so nearly associated with Mr. Richard in his last great work—that connected with the Education Commission—should have been available on this sad occasion, though the speaker, at the shortest notice, came expressly from his retirement in the country to give his services. His address created a very solemn impression on those who heard it. Commencing with the texts, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," "For we are persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord," Dr. Dale went on to say:—"It was well with our brother during his mortal years, for he did the will of Christ, and was in Christ's safe keeping, but to depart and to be with Christ is very far better. He has fought the good fight; he has finished the course; he has kept the faith; he has received the crown of righteousness; he sees the face of God."

For more than fifty years, and nearly sixty, our friend and brother lived in this great city; but he died, as it was fitting that he should die, among his own people, within sound of the waters and within sight of the mountains of the land of his birth. It was fitting, I say, that he should die there, for he loved Wales with a passionate affection, and through all the labours and excitements and controversies of his long public life he was under the power of the influences which surrounded him in the home of his childhood. Mr. Richard inherited the traditions of those great times in the history of his country when men of genius, inspired with a glorious faith,

travelled through every part of Wales, preaching the Christian Gospel with almost unexampled power and success.

After drawing a vivid picture of the Welsh Nonconformists and their ministers of that period, Dr. Dale said that it was not to be wondered that Mr. Richard maintained that the Free Evangelical Churches of Wales, founded by God, were the true national churches of his country, and that he resisted the claims of the ecclesiastical Establishment which had been founded by the State. The speaker then sketched the principal events of Mr. Richard's life since the time when he became a Congregational Minister in London, and afterwards in 1848 shared the general enthusiasm and hope that a new glory was dawning on mankind; and though the vision faded away, he steadfastly pursued his end; the source of Mr. Richard's faith not being the temper of the times, but trust in God and fellowship with Christ. As a politician and legislator he never walked in the crooked paths of time and change, though perhaps he found it hard to make sufficient allowance for the difficulty of realising an ideal justice in human laws and human administration.

I suppose the thought of holding office never crossed his mind. He was Christ's servant in the House of Commons, as he had been Christ's servant in the ministry, and Christ's servant in striving to win the hearts of men from revenge and from strife. For although he believed that it was no part of the function of the State to maintain the authority of the Christian Gospel, he also believed that it was the function of those who had received the Christian Gospel to cause its spirit to penetrate the legislation and the life of the State. To the last he was a Radical of that early type which

has almost disappeared. He believed in trusting the people of a country like this with the management of their own public business. He was, therefore, favourable to every extension of the political franchise, to the largest possible development of municipal government. He thought it safer for the people, if they had any fitness for freedom, to make mistakes in the conduct of their own affairs, than for them to be saved from mistake, even if that were possible, by the perpetual interference of a central Government.

Mr. Richard's views on the education question were then alluded to, and the honourable relations between himself and his constituents:—

They recognised his integrity, and had boundless faith in him; they recognised his zeal in their service. From the time that he first became Member for Merthyr his seat was never seriously in danger, and of late years no one dared to think of disturbing it. He was more than Member for Merthyr, he was Member for Wales, and for many years he was the authoritative representative in the House of Commons of English as well as Welsh Nonconformity. Of his private life, of which during the last two years I have seen much, I would only say that he was singularly gentle, kindly affectionate, and unselfish. He loved warmly, and he was warmly loved.

Having referred to Mr. Richard's work on the Royal Commission, which closed its labours only a short time before his death, Dr. Dale concluded his pathetic address in the following terms:—

In public he was courteous, but had the fortitude of granite rocks. He had a large knowledge of all the subjects on which he ever attempted to influence public opinion. He was sagacious, shrewd, persistent in the maintenance of his convictions. He had the command of a manly and serious eloquence, and when standing before a popular audience he spoke in his more vigorous years with passion and with fire. Beneath all his public life, as I have said, was the religion of his childhood. That remained. I do not mean that he was altogether untroubled by the controversies of the last

thirty years, which other duties prevented him from following and investigating; but whatever else fierce winds and rising waters may have shaken, his central faith was undisturbed. He built upon the rock. That rock was Christ. Again and again, since I have been associated with him in public work on the Education Commission, our conversation has wandered away at night from the business in which we had been engaged during the day, and from political questions on which he and I were not altogether of one mind, to those deeper and central subjects which were nearer than either both to his heart and to mine. To the representatives of Wales whom I see in this congregation I will venture to say that there rested upon him always the most intense, profound solicitude for the deepening and the growth of the religious life, which has been the chief glory of her people. He knew that the true strength of the Nonconformist churches of Wales lay, not in their political power, but in the intimacy of their fellowship with Christ, and the depth and passion of their devotion to His throne . . . He is not lost to us for ever. He has passed from earth into the great company of the immortals, who live in blessedness because they live in God.

> They're like the stars, by day
> Withdrawn from mortal eye,
> But not extinct; they hold their way
> In glory through the sky.

And may the grace be given to those of us who knew and loved him so to follow in his steps that when the dark gates unclose for us to pass through, we in our turn may enter into the presence of the Eternal! Amen.

After a prayer, offered by Dr. Dale, the coffin was carried to the cemetery, where there was a large concourse of people, and having been lowered into the grave, and the solemn formula uttered, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the Rev. Dr. Owen Evans gave a touching address in Welsh, in which he spoke of the death of Mr. Richard as a national loss, and said that his name would be fragrant in Wales for many generations. The

Rev. Edward White having pronounced the benediction, the old Welsh hymn, sung so often along the valleys of Wales by mournful processionists wending their way to the quiet graveyards, was started and joined in by many who had gathered in the cemetery from all parts of the Principality—

"Bydd myrdd o ryfeddodau,
Ar doriad boreu wawr."

Addresses of condolence with Mrs. Richard, and testifying to the exalted character and services of her beloved husband, were adopted by the Merthyr and Aberdale School Boards, and many other public bodies in Wales; and by the Committees of the Peace Society, the Liberation Society, the National Reform Union, and friends at Birmingham. Great prominence was also given to the subject from the Nonconformist pulpits throughout the Principality; some of the clergy, such as the Vicar of Merthyr, expressing their sympathy. Even more marked were the eulogiums passed upon the deceased by the Press of all shades of opinion, from the *Times* downwards, and the cordial testimony as to the noble work of Mr. Richard expressed in some of the most important foreign journals. The resolutions of public bodies, and the letters from personal friends, were so numerous, that Mrs. Richard was obliged to make it known that she was quite unable to acknowledge them separately, while expressing her gratitude for the universal sympathy and the widespread appreciation of the personal character and public services of her late husband.

On the Sunday week following the interment of Mr. Richard, the Rev. Edward White preached a funeral sermon at Allen Street Congregational Church, where the deceased and his family had been in the habit of worshipping for twenty-five years. Alluding to his text, "Thou, therefore, endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ," the preacher said that in Mr. Richard the soldierly element of character had been directed into a life-long moral warfare against injustice and violence; against these he fought in the armour of righteousness, with a trained steadiness and skill, with a quiet, passionate energy, which have achieved, in some directions, wonderful results upon the public mind of the European nations. The main drift of Mr. White's discourse, which was expanded with characteristic force and originality, was, that spiritual men ought not to abandon political life, but use their citizenship as St. Paul did, both as a defence against wrong, and as an instrument for the establishment of justice and benevolence, both in the laws and in the government of their country.

Shortly after, on the 4th of September, Mr. Gladstone was present at one of the meetings of the National Eisteddfod, held at Wrexham, and, in the course of his speech, the right honourable gentleman passed the following weighty eulogium upon Mr. Richard, to whose political services he had so generously referred twenty years before:—

Now, this is a day of retrospect, and, having spoken of Welsh nationality, I am reminded to look towards that inscription which

you see upon a portion of your walls, and which bears the name of Henry Richard, a name than which there can be no better symbol of Wales. I had the honour of knowing him for the last twenty years, if not more, and I have always been glad to take occasion of saying that I regarded him, in respect of the conduct, character, faculties, and hopes of the people of Wales, as a teacher and a guide. I have owed to him much of what I have learned about Wales as my experience has enlarged, and I owe a debt to him on that account which I am ever glad to acknowledge. But, gentlemen, he has broader claims upon you. He has upon you the claim of having exhibited to the world a model of character, such as any country cannot but regard as an object of sympathy and of delight. I have seen him in Parliament, the advocate of decided opinions, the advocate of some opinions, perhaps among the best he entertained—for instance, in respect to peace—in which he had no great number of sympathisers or followers. I have seen him always uniting a most determined courage and resolution in the assertion of his principles and views with the greatest tenderness, gentleness, and sympathy towards those who differed from him. The fact is, though I do not wish unnecessarily and officiously to introduce here considerations so solemn, that perhaps they are better reserved in the main for another place—the fact is, there was in him what I may call an inner place, which was the secret of his outward self-command, and of his gentleness as well as of his courage. It was impossible to see him without seeing that he was not only a professor of Christianity, but that his mind was a sanctuary of Christian faith, of Christian hope, and of Christian love; and all those great powers and principles radiated forth from the centre, and let his light shine before men, though he himself would have been the last either to assert or to recognise that there was in him any kind or degree of merit of his own. I know his name will long be remembered, and ever be revered among you, and I am glad to have had the opportunity of paying to him this brief and imperfect, but hearty and sincere, tribute of admiration and respect.

This touching and remarkable tribute of esteem and admiration from the greatest statesman of the age might fittingly close the record. A reference to the

proceedings of the Congregational Union at the autumnal session at Nottingham must not, however, be omitted. The Rev. Dr. Allon was called upon to move a resolution, which was a brief epitome of Mr. Richard's services to the public generally, as well as to the Union. The speaker remarked that the noble characteristics of the deceased had been eulogised with such a uniformity of estimate, that little remained for those who followed but a sympathetic acquiescence and a cherished memory. Dr. Allon went on to say—

It is difficult to say what quality predominated in Mr. Richard. Whichever excellency you specify, others claim equal recognition. No one was so distinctive as to subordinate others. One thinks of him as a man of various and well-balanced qualities: sagacious in judgment, inflexible in integrity, and warm in pious and social affections. In many capacities and specific things he did efficient service; but the impression produced is chiefly of a general ability pervaded by an inflexible integrity of thought, word, and deed, and by a warm personal sympathy, conscientiously doing whatever duty lay next to him. Is it too much to say that Henry Richard well-nigh realised our Protestant ideal of saintliness, so different from that which the Church has been wont to canonise? It is attained not in cloistered pieties or by exceptional achievements or martyr confessions, but in the religious inspirations of common life. The truest and noblest saint is surely he who sanctifies and consecrates life in its entireness—its activities as well as its emotions, its duties as well as its pieties, whether they be of the shop or the office, of the senate or the pulpit. Above most, he exemplified the holiness of secular life and of common things. Few who knew him could point the finger and say, "Thou ailest here and there"—the strength and beauty of his life was in its entireness. Nothing was more conspicuous in him than his religious integrity—all the more that it was so unconscious. There was no challenge, no vanity of achievement in his service. He never said, "Come, see my zeal for the Lord of Hosts." He moved altogether, without conscious effort, in the simple entireness of his piety and

philanthropy. He did not wait for great occasions. He did not seek them, or calculate applause. He simply did everything heartily, as unto the Lord. . . His might fitly have been Maurice's thanksgiving, Thank God he was often in a minority. His peace principles, for instance, carried him to conclusions which the great majority of his brethren, equally with himself imbued with the spirit of the Divine Master, could not accept. It made no difference to his advocacy. Without a taint of fanaticism he simply obeyed his conscience, whether men would bear or forbear. Equally inflexible was he in political conviction; no change of circumstance, no exigency of political party, could sway him in the maintenance of principles. His politics were as much part of his religion as his worship; the senate was as sacred as the pulpit; a committee of the House of Commons as the chair of the Congregational Union. . . To Mr. Richard's last great service and to the simple martyr spirit in which it was rendered, Dr. Dale—better qualified than any one amongst us to speak of it—has borne strong and eulogistic attestation. It was simply characteristic. With the sentence of death on himself he prepared for death by simply doing the work that was given him to do. "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when He cometh shall find so doing." Probably we owe more to these two faithful and indefatigable brethren for their service on the Education Commission than we shall ever know. We can never appraise evils that are averted—and that the evils threatened will be averted, no one acquainted with the history and heart of the voluntary Churches of England can reasonably doubt.

The resolution moved by Dr. Allon was seconded by Dr. Kennedy, who said that if he were allowed to speak for Wales and for the Celtic races generally, to which he himself belonged, he might say that Mr. Richard was worthy of the highest and holiest ancestry which the Principality could furnish, combining, as he did, in a remarkable degree the character of the patriot and the cosmopolitan.

Eminent public men of very various opinions paid

their tribute to the character of Mr. Richard. Lord Granville said he never met Mr. Richard without feeling as if he were an intimate friend; Lord Derby expressed his sincere respect for him as an honest, conscientious politician; Lord Spencer described him as singularly forbearing towards his opponents and very practical in all he did; Sir Wilfrid Lawson keenly felt the loss of one so loyal, brave, and true-hearted. It was natural that the President of the Peace Society should deeply deplore the loss of his valued colleague. Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., who was, to his extreme regret, prevented by imperative circumstances from being present at the funeral, wrote:—

> There are few men, if any, with whom I have been brought into contact for whom I had a higher regard than our late excellent friend. Strong and straight in his convictions, he held to them resolutely, and turned neither to right or left, or feared what man could do to him. I always thought him a really great man, and we shall miss him very much.

Mr. Richard's Welsh colleagues were naturally very hearty in their praise. Mr. Dillwyn always received the cordial support, advice, and assistance of his late friend in his motion for Welsh disestablishment, and believes that all Welshmen entertained for him the most sincere respect and affection. Mr. Osborne Morgan never knew a public man who had less egotism or bitterness in his nature, and who was more ready to sacrifice himself for the good of others. Similar views have been expressed by Mr. Lewis Morris, Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P., and Mr. Thos. Ellis, M.P.

The news of Mr. Richard's death created profound sympathy on the other side of the Atlantic. With the friends of peace in the United States he kept up constant communication, and was rejoiced to chronicle all their movements in the *Herald of Peace*. Among the resolutions of condolence received by Mrs. Richard was the following, which was passed on September 24th, 1888, by the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society directly after the mournful intelligence reached Boston, where the Committee met :—

Resolved : That we hereby extend our sincere sympathy to our brethren of the London Peace Society in the loss of the beneficent presence and wise counsel of their venerable and beloved honorary secretary, Henry Richard. *Their* loss is *ours* also, and that of the cause of peace and arbitration throughout the world. We rejoice that what Mr. Richard accomplished for peace by his forty years of strenuous and noble activity can never be lost. As inheritors of his abundant labours, in common with yourselves, we feel disposed to address ourselves with new zeal to the great and Christian work which he in part accomplished.

Resolved : That having learned to love Henry Richard, we offer our sincere condolence to his widow, the light of his home, the companion of his journeys, the sharer of his public labours, and the chief joy and solace of a life often wearied with the burden of unrequited toil for the benefit of mankind. May the comfort wherewith God comforts His people be hers !

This resolution was transmitted by the Rev. Rowland B. Howard, the secretary, in a very touching letter, in which he refers with admiration to the faithfulness of Mr. Richard, which kept him in active work even when his life was jeopardised. "England," he says, "seems less attractive and the ocean wider since my

dear friend, brother, and correspondent has gone away. To see and hear him was one of the things for which I wished to go to Paris next summer."

After such expressions of warm feeling and profound respect as have been quoted from men of eminence in public life, as well as diverse views on politics and religion, it may seem superfluous and almost presumptuous for the biographer of Henry Richard, whatever may be his prescriptive right, to cast another stone on the cairn of a revered friend, whose exemplary life and inestimable services stand out with such vivid distinctness in these pages. The writer's study of the facts he has had before him, aided by long intimacy with the subject of this memoir, leads him to the conclusion that the emphatic homage paid to the life and memory of Mr. Richard by so many great and good men is no more than a genuine tribute to a noble character. It was his firm grasp of the verities of the Gospel of which he was a minister that led him to discover his special vocation as a champion of peace principles, advocated sometimes under the most adverse circumstances, and afterwards made him the foremost defender and experienced leader of his fellow-countrymen, and brought about his unsought recognition in later years as the Nonconformist leader, in which capacity he embodied all the best qualities of the elder Puritans with the more enlarged views of the modern "Political Dissenter." The amiable advocate of peace was a stern man of war in the conflict he waged with the barbarous and anti-Christian usages of civilised nations,

with the political oppression practised by the privileged classes of Great Britain, and with the follies, imbecilities, and insincerities which are rife in society. While tolerant and devoid of suspicion or bitterness towards individuals, he was, as Dr. Dale says, firm as granite when questions of principle were involved. The vigour, skill, and pertinacity with which, against the overwhelming current of popular clamour, he opposed the Crimean War, was hardly surpassed by his fellow-workers, Cobden and Bright; and the same unquenchable energy was, years after, brought into play in denouncing the bastard Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield. Indeed, this wonderful persistence was, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of his public career. In the Peace movement, as in his relations to the Principality, no discouragements or rebuffs caused him to deviate a hair's breadth from the course which was marked out for him by conscience and sympathy. A series of gigantic wars did not quench his faith in more rational remedies for international differences, nor did the unquestioned supremacy of Welsh landlords deter him from strenuous efforts to emancipate his countrymen from political thraldom. In the one case as in the other, this grim determination was, to a large extent, rewarded. Arbitration has come to be regarded as a reasonable substitute for war, and Wales is now a veritable stronghold of British Liberalism. In private life Mr. Richard was, as already hinted, generous to a fault. It was not merely that such resources as he had were freely drawn upon to assist others, but he often took infinite pains,

sometimes in the midst of onerous duties, to interest himself in matters that had no pressing or legitimate claim upon his attention. Of his inner life there are occasional glimpses in these pages; the happiness and quietude he enjoyed in his later years being very greatly due to the fact that there was one whose joy it was to share his sympathies and lighten his troubles, and that he had a home brightened by affection. Such completeness of character and balance of powers—such harmonious blending of exalted qualities—as are vouchsafed to man were seen in Henry Richard, and were due, as his political leader puts it, in expressive words which—rarely issuing from the lips of a great statesman, and never since the Commonwealth era in reference to a Nonconformist—will bear repetition:—"His mind was a sanctuary of Christian faith, of Christian hope, and of Christian love, and all those great powers and principles radiated forth from the centre, and let his light shine before men, though he himself would have been the last either to assert or to recognise that there was in him any kind or degree of merit of his own." Of him it may be said as of another patriot:—

> Statesman, yet friend of truth, of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honour clear;
> Who broke no promise, served no private end,
> Who gained no title, and who lost no friend;
> Ennobled by himself, by all approved—
> Praised, wept, and honoured by the land he loved.

In the spring of the present year subscriptions were invited to erect a suitable monument to Mr.

Richard over his grave in Abney Park Cemetery. A small and influential committee was formed to carry out this desirable intention, of which Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., is the treasurer, Mr. J. Carvell Williams, chairman, and Mr. Alfred Shepheard, hon. secretary. An adequate sum having been promised, the work was entrusted to Mr. Edward J. Physick, the well-known sculptor, whose design is original and artistic in conception, and bold and felicitous in its treatment. The upper portion is in the form of a Gothic canopy, to be executed in Portland stone, and supported by eight polished granite columns with floriated caps and bases. The central part forms itself into marble panels on all its four sides, these panels being surmounted with Gothic moulded arches, while on the front next the roadway Mr. Physick has introduced a portrait medallion to be executed in pure white marble in high relief. The whole is raised upon massive plinths, but so well proportioned that the entire design is in beautiful harmony. On the first panel are the dates of the chief events of Mr. Richard's life. The middle panels contain the following inscription :—

Erected by Public Subscription, in memory of a life spent in earnest and self-sacrificing efforts to advance the principles of Peace and Religious Liberty, and to promote the educational, moral, and political welfare of the People, and especially of the inhabitants of the Principality, to which he was devotedly attached. Faithful to his convictions and courageous in their advocacy, he by his consistency and courtesy won the esteem of opponents, as well as the affectionate regard of friends, who gratefully cherish the memory of his high Christian character and enlightened patriotism.

The following is the inscription on the third panel:

"Blessed are the Peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God. —MATTHEW x. 5.

"Canys ir oedd yn fawr gan ei genedl, ac yn gynera dwy yn mys lluaws ei, frodyr yn ceisio daioni iw bobl ac yn dywedyd am heddwch iw holl hiliogaeth."—ESTHER x. 3.*

It is expected that the monument will be completed in November, when it will probably be unveiled.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Richard, his friends at Tregaron, his birthplace, proposed the erection of a public statue in that town in honour of their distinguished fellow-countryman. An influential committee was appointed to carry out the design, of which Lord Aberdare consented to be chairman. A list of Vice-Presidents has been published, comprising the names of Mr. Gladstone, Members for the Principality, several Welsh clergymen, Nonconformist ministers, and gentlemen of prominence in official, scholastic, municipal, and commercial life. An executive committee, consisting of forty local gentlemen, was formed, and the honorary secretaries are Messrs. R. L. Davies and T. Levi of Tregaron. Subscriptions to the amount of £613 have been received or promised, including a substantial sum from the colony of Queensland, through Sir Samuel W. Griffiths, and the Committee confidently expect, before the coming winter is over, to collect £1,000, which will suffice for the erection of a statue.

* "For he was great among his nation, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren; seeking the good of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed."

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